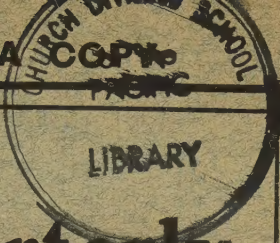


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Professor of Dogmatic Theology, King's College, London.

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ART. I.—THE RECOVERY OF THE
APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

1. *Evangelii secundum Petrum et Petri Apocalypseos quae supersunt.* Ad fidem codicis in Aegypto nuper inventi edidit, cum Latina versione et dissertatione critica A. LODS. (Parisiis : Leroux. 1892.)
2. *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter.* Two Lectures on the newly recovered Fragments together with the Greek Texts. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, B.D., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and M. R. JAMES, M.A., Fellow, Dean, and Divinity Lecturer of King's College, Assistant Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. (Cambridge : at the University Press. 1892.)
3. *Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus.* Die neuentdeckten Bruchstücke nach einer Photographie der Handschrift zu Gizeh in Lichtdruck herausgegeben von O. VON GEBHARDT. (Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs. 1893.)
4. *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrus-apokalypse.* Von ALBRECHT DIETERICH. 1893. Zweite Auflage 1913. (Leipzig : B. G. Teubner.)
5. *Littérature éthiopienne Pseudo-Clémentine.* Par S. GRÉBAUT. In the 'Revue de l'Orient Chrétien,' N.S. Vol. II (XII), Nos. 2-4 ; V (XV), Nos. 2, 3. (Paris : 20, rue du Regard. 1910-11.)

And many other works.

COMPARATIVELY little interest has hitherto been shewn in the emergence, four years ago, in almost a complete form,

of the ancient book called 'The Apocalypse of Peter.' Perhaps this is natural: the publication in 1892 of a large portion of the contents shewed that it was not a great book, and of the more recent discovery there has been nothing like a popular account. Nevertheless, there are several reasons why the reading public ought to be apprised of the existence of the new text, and interested in it.

In the first place, the book was one of those which most nearly made their way into the New Testament Canon. We find that it was known to writers who shew no consciousness of the existence of the Second Epistle of Peter. To Clement of Alexandria it is a book to be commented upon, along with the rest of canonical Scripture. To the writer of the Muratorian Canon it is one of two Apocalypses (the other being that of John) which are read at Rome, though some do not receive it. For Eusebius it is not genuine, but still it is classed: it ranks with the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Teachings of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse of John; while in the Fifth century it was still read in the churches of Palestine in Holy Week.

In the second place, it influenced popular imagination to a degree which, one would say confidently after reading it, was wholly disproportioned to its merits. Its heaven is a garden of unfading flowers and fruitful trees 'where evermore the angels sit and evermore do sing,' not a city whose light is the Lamb; its hell, a series of well-defined provinces in each of which those guilty of a special sin receive the punishment appropriate to it, not the far more terrible outer darkness of the Gospels. Such a heaven, combined in varying degrees with the data of the Johannine Revelation and of the rest of the New Testament, is the heaven of the Martyr Perpetua, of Methodius the imitator of Plato, of the paintings of the Catacombs. Such a hell is the hell of the Acts of Thomas, of the Revelation of Paul, of Tundal, of Dante, to name only the writings of widest circulation. The familiar belief that the world is to perish by fire when Christ comes to judge the quick and the dead *et saeculum per ignem*, if it is mentioned in the Second

Epistle of Peter, and receives therein a canonical sanction, is insisted upon in this Apocalypse; and to the emphasis there laid upon it I do not hesitate to ascribe the larger part of its currency among us.

These are considerations which justify some expenditure of time over the Apocalypse of Peter, and some effort to set out in an accessible form the present state of our knowledge of its contents.

I

Until 1892 this knowledge was singularly scanty. Of no equally popular book had so few fragments been preserved by quotation. We knew it to have been about equal in length to the Epistle to the Galatians. One fragment, which came to light about 1880 in the work of the apologist Macarius, shewed that the end of the world was one of the topics dealt with: others, previously known, spoke of the destiny, in the next world, of infants untimely dead, and the punishment of their parents, and suggested that the book had contained an *Inferno*. From overt quotation one proceeded to unacknowledged borrowings, and it became possible to point out with some confidence that several obviously later visions—notably the second book of the Sibylline Oracles and the Revelation of Paul—were indebted to the Petrine book; and so the position was gained that the Revelation of Peter was, in fact, among the ultimate sources of the whole immense series of Christian descriptions of the other world.

In 1892 the contents of the Gizeh manuscript (found six or seven years earlier in a grave) were laid before us. They consisted of portions of the Book of Enoch, of the Gospel of Peter, and of the Apocalypse of Peter—all of them in Greek. The Gospel almost monopolized general attention, and deserved to do so. To the present writer the apocalyptic piece gave more satisfaction, of a selfish kind, since it proved the general correctness of his views of the character and contents of the lost book which had in its time so narrowly missed inclusion in the Canon.

There the matter rested for the best part of twenty years. But all this time it had been known to those who interested themselves in apocryphal literature that there was a Revelation of Peter in existence. Indeed, it had never been quite lost sight of. Jacques de Vitry saw it when he was with a Crusade in Palestine in the Thirteenth century. Copies were laid up in more than one of the great libraries of Europe. It was in Arabic, and evidently it could not be the ancient Apocalypse, for not only was it of far greater length, but there was mention in it of the Mohammedan invasions. Another version, we next heard, existed in Ethiopic. Of this there was a copy at Tübingen, of which Dillmann gave an account in 1858. The Abyssinian war of 1868 brought large numbers of Ethiopic manuscripts to Europe and especially to London; among these, and in the remarkable Ethiopic library formed by D'Abbadie (now at Paris), further portions of this Petrine literature were contained. It was an easy conjecture that in one or other of them the ancient Apocalypse would be found incorporated; but for a long time the guess remained unsubstantiated. The various texts, Arabic and Ethiopic, of which anything was known, were, in form, discourses addressed by Peter to his disciple Clement: they usually began with a survey of the course of human history from the Creation to the Ascension, and prophecies of the 'last times,' the fall of the Roman Empire, the rise of Islam, the coming of Antichrist, and the final Judgement, which in their general lines resembled perhaps most closely certain apocalypses under the names of the prophet Daniel and the martyr-bishop Methodius. These apocalypses had a wide currency, the former in Greek-speaking lands, the latter both in East and West. The descriptions of the other world, for which we sought, are wholly absent from this type of apocalypse, which is founded on the visions of the canonical Book of Daniel, and is chiefly composed of contemporary history written in the future tense, and passing off into predictions of a somewhat conventional character.

Thus no immediate help was forthcoming from the oriental Petro-Clementine books which had been looked into.

But it was evident that there were several recensions of them, which it is not even now possible to discriminate, for they have been by no means exhaustively examined; and one of these has yielded up the particular secret which we hoped to obtain from them. In 1907 a certain very interesting and valuable French periodical, the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, which sets before itself the praiseworthy object of investigating the history and literature, old, mediaeval, and modern, of the Eastern Churches, published an article by M. l'Abbé Sylvain Grébaut, giving a short analysis of an Ethiopic Petro-Clementine book. The particular text was contained in a manuscript of the D'Abbadie collection. It did not attract attention: as it happened, the analysis was not sufficiently detailed to excite suspicion; and evidently none of the very small circle who are intent on apocryphal literature read it, if they saw it at all, with due alertness of mind. In 1910, however, there appeared in the same periodical an instalment of the translation of this text which M. Grébaut had promised in his former article. The veil was lifted. The Apocalypse of Peter was here—corrupt no doubt in many places, adulterated with later insertions to an uncertain extent; and tailing off into mere verbiage at the end, but still the Apocalypse of Peter.

How did we recognize it as such? Simply because in the new text was comprised all the matter of the fragment in the Gizeh manuscript (not without deviations) and also the matter of all the undoubted quotations from the Apocalypse. That was the first and central fact. Others came to light in quick succession. The Gizeh MS contained but a fragment, beginning and ending abruptly. It ended in a description of *HELL*. The Ethiopic followed it to that point, continued, and completed it on the same lines. Further, that portion (the second book) of the Sibylline Oracles which had been shewn to have used the Apocalypse of Peter as its main source, shewed copious parallels with the Ethiopic in portions not represented in the Gizeh MS. Besides this, obligations (unacknowledged) to the same Apocalypse were discoverable in writers, such as Ephraem

Syrus and Cyril of Jerusalem, who had had occasion to describe the Second Coming. In fact, as usually happens when an ancient document is recovered, it was found that many features of it were familiar to us already.

II

Dismissing for the time being the doubtful points and difficulties which naturally accompany the certainties of the discovery, let us see what the content of the new apocalypse is.

It purports to be a revelation given by Christ to the Apostles, of whom Peter is the spokesman (and also the narrator of the revelation). The setting is like that of the eschatological discourse of our Lord in the Synoptic Gospels, itself not uncommonly described as an apocalyptic document incorporated with their text. Jesus is seated on the Mount of Olives and His disciples ask Him what are to be the signs of His coming and of the end of the world. Is the situation conceived as previous to the Passion (as it is in the Gospels) or as subsequent to the Resurrection? The question is one to be reckoned with hereafter.

The answer of the Lord to the question of the Apostles occupies the greater part of the book. It begins on familiar lines. 'Beware that men deceive you not. Many will come in my Name, saying "I am the Christ."' When the Advent does take place it will be sudden and glorious. Some part of what follows upon this must be regarded as later amplification: it deals, somewhat obscurely and verbosely, with the simile of the fig-tree putting forth shoots, and passes to the parable of the barren fig-tree. We then return to the topic of the Doom. 'The Lord shewed me the similitude of what shall be done at the last day. . . . We beheld how the sinners wept' and Peter was moved to ask whether it had not been better that they should not have been born, but was met with the reply (which is also to be found in 4 Esdras), 'Thou canst not have more compassion on the creature than the Creator hath.' After a line or two more, the Apocalypse begins

in good earnest, and we can be sure that we are dealing with the ancient Revelation of Peter. Summarized, the prophecy runs thus :

All men shall be gathered before God. He will command Hell to open its doors of adamant and give up the souls imprisoned in it. The great angel Uriel who presides over the resurrection and the judgement will bring all dead bodies out of their graves. Beasts and birds will give up the flesh of men that they have devoured, for nothing is lost, and all things are possible with God. The body of man is as a seed sown in the earth.

Along with men, the earth, and the heaven also, will be judged. A great darkness will come up and cover the earth. Then the cataracts of fire will be let loose. The firmament of heaven and the stars will perish and all created things come to an end. Before the devouring flames the race of men will flee hither and thither, unavailingly. They will be overtaken and driven towards the seat of judgement, and then the Lord will appear on the clouds as Judge. All kindreds of the earth will wail because of Him, every nation apart. In front of the judgement-seat a river of fire will issue, through which every soul must pass. For the righteous it will have no terrors, but the wicked will fall into it. The fire, it seems, has power to test them ; and in their failure to pass the test their judgement consists.

With the rest of the dead Uriel will bring the souls of those who perished in the Flood¹ ; and besides these all the spirits which have dwelt in idols and objects of pagan worship. Punishment awaits all these. When the judgement is over, each class of sinners will be assigned its appropriate place and torment.

At this point the Greek text of the Gizeh MS becomes available for comparison, and it is here also that the vulgarity of the apocalypse becomes most patent.

The *blasphemers*² will be suspended by their tongues, the *deniers of righteousness* tormented in fire, the *wanton*

¹ Cf. in 1 Peter the mention of the spirits who were disobedient 'in the days of Noe when the ark was a preparing.'

² Italics mark agreement with the Greek text.

hung by their hair. *Murderers* will be tormented by venomous beasts, and the souls of their victims will come to gaze on them. *Mothers* of children untimely destroyed will be smitten by sparks proceeding from the children, who are set over against them ; parents of children who have been exposed will be bitten by creatures engendered in the milk of the mothers, while the children, who will accuse them before God, will be delivered to an angel Temlâkos and dwell in a place of refreshment.

Persecutors suffer by the worm that dies not ; doubters are burned with hot iron ; *false witnesses* have fire in their mouths ; those who *trusted in riches* will be clad in rags, and a sharp spit (or sharp stones) will be their torment. *Usurers* will be plunged in mire to the knees ; the *lascivious* are forced to the edge of a precipice, fall down it, mount it, and fall again continually. *Idolaters* beat each other with fiery chains in the presence of their gods. *Apostates* are roasted in fire [here the Greek equivalent leaves us]. The dishonourers of parents fall into fire ; others guilty of disobedience suffer the attacks of carnivorous birds ; children and maidens are brought by the angel Ezrael to see their punishment ; unchaste girls are torn in pieces ; unfaithful servants gnaw their tongues ; hypocritical alms-givers clothed in white, blind and deaf, stumble over each other and fall upon coals of fire. Witches and wizards are bound to wheels which revolve in a river of fire.

Contrast with the gross materialism of this catalogue the dignity of the Revelation of St. John the Divine : 'without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.'

'Thereafter,' continues our Apocalypse, 'the angels will bring the righteous and clothe them with the robes of heaven. They will see those who have hated them rewarded according to their work. The sinners will implore mercy and seek a late repentance, but the angel of torment (Tatirôkos) will sternly silence them, and they will confess that the Lord is just in His judgement.

'Then will I give mine elect the washing and cleansing which I have promised them in the "field of Akrosya which is called

Aneslaslya," *i.e.* in the Acherusian lake [that mystic water in which the soul of Adam was washed, as the Apocalypse of Moses tells us] in the field called of Elysium.

'Christ will, he says, himself go and rejoice with them in their inheritance, and will bring the nations into the bliss of the eternal kingdom.

'As for thee, Peter, go thou forth into the city of the West, into the vineyard of which I shall tell thee, and preach my gospel.'

So, with some obscurities which are here passed over, the account of the Judgement concludes: but the book is not yet at an end.

'Our Lord Jesus said to me,' it continues, 'let us go to the Holy Mountain [*i.e.* presumably Tabor]. His disciples accompanied him praying; and of a sudden there were two men seen on the mountain, men of dazzlingly beautiful appearance, white as snow, red as the rose, with comely locks crowned with nard. We were overcome with astonishment, and I asked the Lord "What are these?" "Moses and Elias" was the answer. "Where then are Abraham and the rest of the righteous Fathers?" Then the Lord shewed us Paradise with its fair trees and beautiful fruits and flowers, of which the perfume was wafted to us. "This," said our Lord, "is the place of rest of the Fathers, and such is the reward of those who follow my righteousness." Then I believed and rejoiced and said to him "Wilt thou that I make here three tabernacles? . . ." He rebuked me. "There is but one tabernacle for my chosen and for me, not made by the hand of man, but by my heavenly Father." And suddenly there came a voice from heaven saying "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased. He accomplisheth my commandment." And a great white cloud overshadowed us and bore up the Lord and Moses and Elias. The heavens opened, and we saw men, still in the body of flesh, meet them and pass into a second heaven. The scripture was fulfilled which says "This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek the face of the God of Jacob." A great fear came upon us, and in heaven was a mighty tumult of angels crowding together to fulfil the scripture "Open your gates, O princes."

'Then the heaven was closed to our sight, and we came down from the mountain, giving glory to the Lord for that he had written the names of the righteous in the book of life which is in the heavens.'

The Ethiopic text continues for a good many more pages ; but there is an evident break after the last words I have quoted, and by no possibility can the discourse of Peter to Clement, of which it consists, be reckoned as belonging to the old Apocalypse, though in two places, where it describes the beauty of the angels and of the glorified righteous, it has borrowed phrases therefrom. The problem rather, is how much of what has been summarized here belongs to the Apocalypse : and along with that comes the question, how does this new Ethiopic text compare with the Greek text of the Gizeh MS and with the known fragments of the book ?

III

To take this matter first : the Gizeh MS is at variance with the Ethiopic in several very important respects. Its order is wholly different, and it presents the *Inferno*, not in the form of a prediction of the destiny of the various groups of sinners, after the judgement, but as a vision of their present condition shewn to Peter. Some other discrepancies will appear from a survey of the Greek text, with which we cannot dispense.

It begins abruptly, in a speech of our Lord :

‘ Many of them will be false prophets and will teach ways and various doctrines of perdition, and these will be sons of perdition ; and then will God come to my faithful ones that hunger and thirst and are afflicted, and that in this life prove their souls, and will judge the sons of wickedness.’

There is, I would remark in passing, a certain air of hurry and compression about these sentences, and they do not seem to form a proper conclusion to such an account of the judgement as we have in the other text.

‘ And the Lord said further “ Let us go to the mountain, and pray. And as we went with him, we, the twelve disciples, besought him that he would shew us one of our righteous brethren that had departed out of the world, that we might see of what fashion they are in appearance, and might take courage,

and encourage in like manner those too who heard us. And, as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord.'

Then follows the description of their beauty, which is represented in the Ethiopic. The apostles are astonished.

'And I drew near to the Lord and said "Who are these?" He saith to me "These are your righteous brethren, of whom ye desired to see the appearance." And I said to him "And where are all the righteous, or of what sort is the world (*aeon*) in which they exist, possessing this glory?" And the Lord shewed me a very great space outside this world bright above measure with light, and the air that was there illuminated by the rays of the sun, and the ground itself blossoming with unfading flowers, and full of spices, and fair-flowering plants, undecaying, and bearing blessed fruit. And so great was the blossom (*i.e.* perfume) that it was borne even to us from thence; and the inhabitants of that place were clad in the raiment of shining angels, and their raiment was like to their land, and angels encircled them there (*lit.* ran around them thither), and equal was the glory of the inhabitors there, and with one voice they praised the Lord God, rejoicing in that place. The Lord saith to me "This is the place of your leaders [the word is uncertain], the righteous men."

'And I saw another place also over against that, very squalid, and it was a place of punishment. and they that were punished there, and the angels that punished them, had their raiment dark, according to the air of the place.

'And there were some there hanging by their tongues,' etc.

Then follows the *Inferno*, which describes the punishment of the following groups of sinners¹—*blasphemers, perverters of righteousness, wanton women, murderers, child-destroying mothers, persecutors, abusers of the Way, false witnesses, trusters in riches, usurers, lascivious, idolaters, apostates.* It then breaks off.

The differences between the two lists are not great, but may be significant. The most considerable omission on the part of the Greek is that of the parents who exposed their

¹ Italics signify agreement with the Ethiopic.

children, including the accusation of the parents by the children, and the delivery of the latter to a special angel. It is just this passage for which we happen to have the best independent attestation, for it is quoted by both Clement of Alexandria and Methodius. Thus in this place the Ethiopic is superior to the Greek. The class which I have called 'abusers of the Way' figures in the Greek as 'they who blasphemed and spake evil of the way of righteousness' and in the Ethiopic as 'the slanderers and doubters of my righteousness.' The advantage here lies, I think, with the Ethiopic; while the Greek comes very near to repeating its first 'class,' the other text introduces a fresh element in the word 'doubters.' We hear much in Hermas and other early sources of the sin of the double-minded, οἱ διστάζοντες. That with which the Greek text ends 'they that forsake the way of God' is perhaps incompletely described owing to the mutilation of our source, which breaks off with the words I have quoted. There is also an obscurity in the Ethiopic, which reads 'they who have forsaken the commandment of God and followed the . . . [an unintelligible word] of devils.' Neither text differentiates the group in a satisfactory way from what has gone before.

The Ethiopic thus shews certain points of superiority to the Greek, which, as in another place noted above, has somewhat the air of being a shortened text. The principal omission of the Greek is one which might very likely occur to a writer who sought to abridge his source: he might well think that it was not necessary to discriminate between children who had been deprived of life just before and just after their entrance into the world. It is fortunate that we can here control him by the help of independent quotations.

On the other hand, it must not be supposed that the Ethiopic is a wholly satisfactory text. Wherever the Greek could be described as at all elaborate or involved, the Ethiopic presents us with a dreadful hash. One can see the salient words, but construction has gone to the winds.

However, upon the whole judgement passes in favour of the Ethiopic so far as the *Inferno* section is concerned, at

least in respect of its greater completeness. What are we to say of the *Paradise*?

The Greek gives us, first, a vision of two glorified men unnamed, but described as 'righteous brethren' of the Apostles who have departed this life. The vision is given in answer to the request of the Apostles, who desire it as an encouragement to themselves and to their hearers. The scene is 'the mountain.'

No motive for the vision is assigned in the other text, which mentions the scene as 'the holy mountain.' The men seen are Moses and Elias.

Next, in the Greek, in answer to a question of Peter's, 'Where are the rest of the righteous?' the garden of Paradise is shewn, and thereafter, unasked, the sight of Hell is vouchsafed. What followed this must remain uncertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that some inquiry was put and replied to. It does *not* seem likely that there can have been any return to the subject of the glorified righteous or of Paradise. There *may*, on the other hand, have been a resumption of the topic of the last judgement. In the Ethiopic we have the question as to the rest of the righteous and the vision of Paradise. Our Lord's comment 'Hast thou seen this? Such is the reward of the just,' leads into the concluding part of the narrative of the Transfiguration—Peter's offer to build three tabernacles, a rebuke to him (modelled on St. Matt. xvi 23), the Voice from Heaven, the overshadowing cloud, and the Apostles' fear. And this again passes into something very like an Ascension-narrative. For the cloud takes up the Lord, Moses and Elias into an opened heaven in which they are met by 'men still in the flesh'—Enoch, one must suppose, and perhaps Esdras and Baruch, whose assumption was recorded in Jewish Apocalypses. The company pass into a further heaven, the hosts of Angels rush together, seemingly to open the gates, the heaven closes, and the Apostles go down from the Mount.

This closing scene reminds one—and the point may be reserved for further consideration—of the Resurrection-scene in the Gospel of Peter. There the heavens open, two men descend and enter the sepulchre. They emerge escorting our

Lord and the Cross. Lastly the heaven opens again, and a single figure descends and enters the sepulchre.

The fact that all this is so divergent from the Canonical accounts both of the Transfiguration and the Ascension is somewhat in favour of its antiquity ; and another consideration which seems to point the same way is this : that in the Second Epistle of Peter, which contains an appreciable number of other resemblances to the Greek fragment, there is also a reference to the Voice heard by the Apostles on the Holy Mount. It will be observed that in the Greek text the discrepancy with the Synoptists is avoided, for the glorified saints are not Moses and Elias ; indeed, the impression left is that they are deceased Christians. If this be so, another difficulty is substituted ; for at a time, either during the Ministry or just after the Passion, who could these deceased brethren be ? Have we here one of those harmonistic changes which only solve one puzzle at the expense of creating others ?

Is it possible to determine whether the Ethiopic text intends to place the period of the revelation before or after the Passion ? If after the Passion, we must accept the curious and somewhat difficult fact that the Transfiguration is wholly removed from the period of the Ministry. This will appeal to the critics who have already adopted the theory that the Transfiguration is really a misplaced account of a post-Resurrection appearance. If before the Passion, we have to assume that the apparent Ascension of our Lord is only a temporary one ; that He is to rejoin the Apostles as they come down from the Mount. This is the less hard to accept for two reasons : first, because it would be merely an embellishment of the Transfiguration-scene ; secondly, because there is no hint in the text that the Lord is bidding farewell to His disciples. There is no parting blessing, the vision is simply designed to shew the reward of the righteous.

In neither Greek or Ethiopic do we find plain indications on this head. It is apparent from the Greek that the Apostles know that they are to preach the Gospel, for they ask for a sign that shall prove an encouragement to their hearers. In the Ethiopic it is twice over said that the Cross

will precede the Lord when He comes as Judge. The first point will be admitted at once not to be conclusive ; and, I think, the second also, when we remember the antiquity and the wide currency of the interpretation of the 'sign of the Son of Man' as meaning the Cross, the mention of that 'sign' being anterior to the Passion. Besides which, the presence in the Gospels of such a phrase as 'taking up the cross' would in the mind of an early writer or reader fully suffice to excuse such a mention of the Cross as we find here.

What remains of our Lord's prophetic speech in the Greek is of the same complexion as the ante-Passion prophecy in the Synoptists, and the introductory clause of the Ethiopic ('when he was seated on the Mount of Olives his disciples drew near and asked him') agrees with the setting of the same prophecy in Matthew and Mark.

But if it be true that the texts do not forbid us to think of the revelation as anterior to the Passion, and to some extent favour that view, I think the analogy of some other documents ought to be considered. Three seem to be worth citing. The recently published 'Testament of the Lord in Galilee' (assigned to the Second century) explicitly states that the Lord was risen, and does not mention the Mount of Olives (as the title indicates). The better known Testament of the Lord (Rahmani's) is identical in its setting. The *Pistis Sophia* (Third century) may be a more significant witness. In it the Mount of Olives is (at first) the scene, and the time is after the Resurrection. There is, too, a curious resemblance to the closing scene of the Ethiopic text. The disciples are seated on the Mount of Olives, and Jesus not far off. A great light appears and encircles Him, and He ascends to heaven, whereupon all the powers of heaven are set in a great commotion, and the earth is moved, so that the disciples fear that the end of all things is come. This commotion in heaven and earth continues till the next day, when Jesus returns. The likeness may be only superficial, but it is apparent. Still the inference that the Apocalypse must be set in the same period of the Lord's life as the *Pistis Sophia* is not necessary.

The Ethiopic text in which the Apocalypse occurs has,

it will be remembered, a considerable continuation, in the shape of a long dialogue of the Lord with Peter, reported by him to Clement. It is far later in date than the Apocalypse. For all that, it would be interesting to know what view its author held on the question before us. Unfortunately he wavers. He speaks of the denial of Peter, and of the Passion as past and over; on the other hand, the time when the revelation was given is clearly the Transfiguration.

‘The Lord shewed us [Peter, James and John] at the Transfiguration the raiment of the last days, after the resurrection and the judgement. A cloud of light overshadowed us. . . . We knew not what we said, for the greatness of our fear that day on the mount, on which he shewed us the second coming of Christ in his eternal kingdom.’

Elsewhere he mentions Tabor as the scene of the appearance of Moses and Elias. There is nothing to shew that by this Transfiguration on Mount Tabor he intends anything but the occurrence recorded by the Synoptists.

Personally I feel drawn to the view that the Apocalypse was meant to be regarded as anterior to the Passion. In this case we must recognize that the Transfiguration has been adapted and shifted to a different period and to different surroundings from those which accompany it in the Gospels. But the general bearing of the episode is the more intelligible. It is not difficult to see that the Transfiguration would commend itself as suitable to be associated with revelations of the future state.

At the same time we must remember that the question is very much open to argument; the post-Resurrection revelations are in a majority. The production of a fresh text of our document may solve the problem in a sense contrary to that which I have advocated.

IV

The other—and it is an equally important problem—is that of the relation between our two texts, Greek and Ethiopic. They differ, we have seen, materially in arrangement.

The Greek order is (a) prophecy of the End, short and devoid of detail; (b) vision of glorified saints and of Paradise; (c) vision of Hell seen by Peter. The Ethiopic gives (a) prophecy of the End, with detailed description of the final fire, resurrection of the dead, and torments of Hell—all in the future tense; (b) vision of Moses and Elias and Paradise; (c) Transfiguration-Ascension scene. Which of these two is the original order, and the original method of presentation? Especially puzzling in this respect is the vision of Hell. We are undoubtedly more accustomed to a form of *Inferno* in which the seer is conducted through the other world, and asks questions and receives answers about what he sees, than to a detailed description of what *will be* the lot of sinners after the final doom, such as we have in the Ethiopic. But to say this is, after all, no more than to say that to the bulk of later Apocalyptists the more vivid form of presentation commended itself, backed as it was by ancient authority in the Apocalypse of John (and to some extent in *Enoch*) and lending itself to a multiplication of visions in which different aspects of the future state were emphasized. The argument from analogy does not exclude the possibility that in the prophetic form we have an early experiment which was found awkward by would-be imitators.

This is a part of our subject in which external evidence would clearly be of great value if we could procure it; and I think we can at least bring forward some proofs that a text corresponding in general arrangement with the Ethiopic was known in early times. A direct help to this is furnished by a little, mutilated, and barely legible parchment leaf in the Bodleian which came from Egypt twenty or more years ago, and contains a bit of our text, including the description of the torment of idolaters, *couched in the future tense*. 'Near these *will be* other men and women,' etc. The leaf is of the Fifth or Sixth century. Another witness, and a very important one, has to be somewhat discounted. This is the Sibyl, who in virtue of her office is obliged to speak in futures; but she is valuable to us as testifying to the order in which the topics are

treated. Compare the following sketch of a section of Book II of the Oracles (it is assigned to the Third century) with the summary of the Ethiopic given earlier in this article.

Darkness comes up over all the world—north, south, east and west. A torrent of fire falls, the stars are melted, and all creatures destroyed. The great archangels bring all souls to the judgement-seat of the immortal and almighty God. The dead shall rise, bone joining bone, and flesh and hair being restored. Uriel will open the adamantine doors of Hades and bring forth the shades, the Giants and those who perished in the Flood, all who have been drowned or devoured by birds or beasts. Christ will come with His angels and sit as Judge: the saints of old will come with Him: and all souls will pass through a river of fire, the just to salvation, the evil to punishment. Murderers and their accomplices, liars, thieves, deceivers, adulterers, slanderers, proud, lawless, idolaters, blasphemers, injurers of the good, . . . usurers, oppressors of widows and orphans, evil alms-givers, undutiful to parents, deniers of deposits, faithless servants, incontinent men and girls, causers of abortion, exposers of children, witches and wizards: all these shall be brought to the place of punishment where is the river of fire, and shall be chastised by angels with fiery scourges and chains, cast into darkness and bitten by hellish beasts, bound on wheels in the fiery river, and shall lament bitterly and in vain. They will suffer threefold punishment for every sin. The righteous on the other hand will be borne over the fiery river by angels to the land of life, with its rivers of wine, honey and milk: there are none of the injustices of earth, nor vicissitudes of time; all is one long day. And to these God will grant another boon, that when they beseech Him He will allow them to obtain for the sinners release from torment, and they too shall be sent to another life, eternal, in the Elysian plain, and the broad expanse of the Acherusian Lake.

Allowing for the fact that this is a paraphrase in Greek verse of a prose original, with occasional borrowings from earlier Sibyllines, and from other sources, I think it will

be granted that in it we have a surprisingly close reproduction of the matter of the Ethiopic text of our Apocalypse, as far as the end of the Lord's prophetic speech. In particular it should be noted how the description of Judgement passes into that of Hell.

So, too, in the Fourth century we have a poetical sermon of Ephraem Syrus—the thirteenth of his *sermones de diversis*—in which a picture of the Judgement Day is given. It is largely dependent on canonical sources, but there are unmistakable obligations to the Petrine Apocalypse. Thus the falling of the stars and the conflagration of the universe are described, and thereafter we read how the Judge will appear seated on a fiery throne, resplendent with rays of fire, and with a fiery river issuing from before Him to prove and test all men. This fire has not the property of consuming all alike. It will only seize on those who have not in their hearts the fire of love. The trumpet will sound and the dead will be raised. 'Those whom the sea has swallowed, whom wild beasts had consumed, whom the talons of birds had torn, whom fire had devoured, will rise in a moment.' Shortly after that we are told how women who have destroyed their offspring will not rise to life, for the injured child, which has been defrauded of the light, will not permit it. And the sermon ends with an enumeration of the offences for which punishment will be meted out—not coinciding often with the Apocalypse, but conceived in more general terms.

Here is another instance of the description of Hell, linked to that of Judgement, but in the form of a prediction, and clearly drawn in some measure from our book.

Yet a further point is this, that the quotations made by Clement of Alexandria and Methodius are compatible with, though they do not necessitate, the view that their context was couched in the future throughout.

So far there appears to be a good deal in favour of the superiority of the Ethiopic presentation to the Greek. A notable addition to the weight of evidence is this: with one exception, the quotations in early writers have no equivalent in the Greek, but can all (also with one exception)

be traced in the Ethiopic. The exceptions shall be cited. That which is represented in the Greek is one of Clement's quotations. He gives it thus, 'and a lightning of fire darting from those children and smiting the eyes of the women.' The Gizeh MS has 'and there proceeded from them rays (*or* sparks) of fire and smote the women upon the eyes.' The Ethiopic, 'and there shall come a lightning from the infants and a screw [or gimlet : perhaps corrupt] in the eyes of them who for wantonness destroyed them.'

The one omitted by the Ethiopic is not quite certainly from the Apocalypse. It is quoted by Macarius Magnes (or, more accurately, by the heathen writer whom Macarius is combating) in close connexion with a veritable phrase of pseudo-Peter that does figure in the Ethiopic. This somewhat doubtful fragment is 'and every power of heaven shall be melted, and the heaven shall be rolled up like a scroll, and all the stars shall fall like leaves from a vine, and as leaves fall from a fig-tree.' There is, of course, matter very like this in the Ethiopic, but it is not quite identical : on the other hand, the fragment *is* identical with the Septuagint of Isaiah xxxiv 4, save that there we have 'and all the powers of heaven' instead of 'every power'—plural for singular.

The mutilation of the Gizeh text at the beginning deprives us of the power of testing it here. There is, in fact, in the Greek, a total absence of reference to the resurrection of the dead, and the circumstances of the judgement.

V

But if we have in the Ethiopic a truer representative of the original text than in the Greek, what is to be said of the Greek? What is its *raison d'être*? Is it after all, as nearly all writers have assumed, the Apocalypse? Nearly all writers, I say, myself included, did make this assumption : but there were a few who disagreed, and I now incline to think that they were right. They asserted that the Apocalyptic fragment in the Gizeh MS was a second excerpt from the Gospel of Peter. They allowed, of course, that it contained part of the matter of the Apocalypse of Peter, but they

explained its relation thereto in different ways, one holding that the Apocalypse was later than the Gospel and was developed out of this portion of it ; another that the Gospel had incorporated (wholly or partly) the Apocalypse, which was a somewhat older book and was current separately.

What can be said for the view that this Apocalyptic piece formed part of the Gospel ?

First, there is its position in the manuscript, next door to the ' Passion according to Peter ' and with blank pages intervening. Each of the two pieces begins and ends abruptly—the Passion, indeed, leaves off in the middle of a sentence. The suggestion lies very near, that the writer of the manuscript came across a few leaves of the Gospel of Peter, thought them worth transcribing, and left himself an opportunity of filling the obvious gap between them if chance permitted. The fact that Apocalypse here follows Passion may be taken as favouring the post-Resurrection setting of the prophecy : or it may be that our scribe mistook the order of his loose leaves. Next, there are resemblances of language between the two pieces, the Passion and the Apocalypse. Nowhere in either is Jesus called anything but ' the Lord ' : in both the unusual phrase occurs ' We the twelve disciples of the Lord,' and there are coincidences of vocabulary which make a fairly imposing list, considering the diversity of the two pieces in subject, and their inconsiderable length.

VI

Next, assuming that the two pieces both belong to the Gospel of Peter, are we to regard that Gospel as parent or as plagiarist of the Apocalypse of Peter—of whose existence and wide currency as a separate book in the Second century there can be no doubt ?

Personally I believe that the Apocalypse is the older of the two, and that the Gospel appropriated parts of it, inverting its order, abridging to some extent what it took, and very likely omitting a good deal. The considerations which lead me to that view are of this kind. We hear a great deal

more about the Apocalypse in early times than about the Gospel. It was clearly a far more important book. It is read in the churches of Rome, used by the author of the 'Second Epistle of Clement,' and very likely by Hermas, certainly by Clement of Alexandria. It circulates, too, in Africa and in the East. Its considerable reputation, and the acceptance it met with, make a date before the middle of the Second century almost inevitable. The Gospel *per contra* is mentioned less than half a dozen times—never actually quoted—was current in the region of Antioch and, as we now know, in Egypt. The use of it by the Arian Antiochene who wrote the *Didascalia* seems to be proved : Serapion of Antioch condemned it about 190 A.D. : Origen had seen it. The effort to shew that Justin Martyr used it before or about the middle of the Second century has been by no means certainly successful. There is in short no real bar to dating the Gospel at or just after the middle of the century.

Then there is the character of the Passion-episode of the Gospel to be considered. It shews no objection to borrowing : all the four Gospels are used, and phrases from them are welded, with additions, into what may fairly be described as a rather hurried and abridged narrative. Further, there is analogy. Which is the prevailing habit in this literature : to develop a separate writing out of an episode in a larger book, or to incorporate the substance of short separate writings into longer ones ? So far as my knowledge goes, the latter is incomparably the commoner practice. As against it, I am only able to cite cases in which the wish to provide a suitable lection for a saint's day has led to the separate circulation of episodes taken out of the lengthy Acts of an Apostle. The martyrdom of St. Paul and the Acts of Paul and Thecla have been in this way excerpted from the Acts of Paul ; the death of John the Evangelist from his Acts, one or two miracles of Thomas from his, and so on. Also, letters which occurred in long books were taken out and preserved separately. Instances of this are the Epistle of Baruch (from his Apocalypse) and the 3rd Epistle to the Corinthians (from the Acts of Paul). But in these cases there has been no recasting of

the excerpt such as the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, if it was developed out of the Gospel, has undergone. On the other hand, the theory of the fusion of separate documents into one by a final redactor is one which in an appreciable number of cases can be regarded as proved ; it is also one, I may remark in passing, which has been pressed far beyond its proper limits. The Book of Enoch is an instance to which no exception can be taken ; the Ascension of Isaiah, the Lives of Adam and Eve, and the ' Gospel of pseudo-Matthew ' may also be cited. But the Fourth Book of Esdras, and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, which have been subjected to elaborate dissections—not to speak of the Apocalypse of John—resist attacks on their integrity.

Thus the fame and success achieved by the Apocalypse as compared with the Gospel, the character of the Gospel, and the argument from analogy, unite in making me think that of the two writings the Gospel is the more likely to have been the borrower, if borrowing has taken place. And that it has taken place I incline to believe, in view of the existence of two texts, of which one has so evidently been subjected to thorough recasting.

If the general correctness of this estimate is granted, it becomes possible to lay more stress upon the likeness between the Resurrection-story in the Gospel and the closing scene of the Apocalypse. This notable fact also is accounted for—that the most striking resemblances between the Passion and the Apocalyptic piece occur in the *setting* of the latter : *i.e.* in those portions which *ex hypothesi* would be the work of the adapter.

VII

It has been necessary to go over this ground somewhat carefully in order to make it clear to the reader that the new text may justly claim to be regarded as on the whole our best authority for the knowledge of this ancient book, and to apprise him generally of what he will find in it. He will however want to know more than this. What, he will ask,

is the source of this Heaven and Hell, and of this Last Judgement? Is it an unassisted product of Christian imagination, or a loan from Egypt, Palestine, Greece, or the Farther East?

Shortly after the publication of the Gizeh manuscript a very remarkable study of the Apocalypse-fragment was published by Albrecht Dieterich, since dead, under the title of *Nekyia*. Its object was to shew the pre-eminently *Orphic* character of the Heaven and Hell portrayed here. He drew attention, in a way and to an extent that were quite new, to the relics (which are meagre enough unhappily) of Greek (Pagan-Greek) and Roman apocalyptic or other-world literature. He shewed that upon these apocalypses was based Vergil's story of the descent of Aeneas into Hell, that Lucian had caricatured them, that the myths of Plato and of Plutarch draw largely from them. He demonstrated the Orphic element in the theology of Plato and Vergil, and shewed its presence as far back in Greek literature as the threnes of Pindar. For him the Paradise and the Inferno of pseudo-Peter were a vulgarized version of those promises and warnings of a future state which were held out to the initiates of the Orphic mysteries. If we could recover that 'Descent of Orpheus into Hades' which is known to have existed, we should find, if not the direct parent, at least an ancestor of our Apocalypse, whose family likeness thereto would surprise us.

No one could read *Nekyia* without feeling convinced that Dieterich's case was a very strong one, especially in regard of the description of Hell. The enumeration of divers forms of guilt, and the assigning to each a special punishment, is carried out in the Sixth Aeneid (to take a well-known instance) and in pseudo-Peter on startlingly similar lines. Not less striking is the confirmatory evidence of such a document as the vision of Aridaeus (Thespesius of Soli) in Plutarch's tract *de sera numinis vindicta*, which takes its reader back at once to the myth of Er in the *Republic*, which in its turn is pronouncedly Orphic.

The new text, I would add, contributes at least one piece of confirmation to Dieterich's view, in its mention of the

Acherusian Lake, and of Elysium. Greek influence must of necessity be present in some degree where these (and especially the latter) are introduced, and the influence, one is inclined to say, must be direct, not filtered through a Jewish source.

Admit, then, the presence of Greek influence. Does it account for the whole document, as a Christianized Orphic Apocalypse—not that Dieterich makes any such claim for his theory? Clearly it does not even account for the whole of the Gizeh fragment, which begins with a predictive speech of the Lord. Still less does it cover the account of the end of the world and the resurrection in the Ethiopic text. But setting these aside, can it figure as the sole source of the Paradise and Hell? No. The description of the two glorified saints is taken (in part) almost *verbatim* from the Book of Enoch. So are many of the traits of the heavenly garden. In Enoch too we find mention of Angels of punishment, the souls of the murdered, those who trusted in riches, the persecutors of the righteous, the destroyers of children, while the parallels to the account of the Last Judgement are very striking. Enoch (the complete book as we have it, with all its additions) is, then, one source of the Apocalyptic's language and imagery. The *Wisdom of Solomon* is another: the resemblances of diction (which I have elsewhere set out at length)¹ are such as to force the conviction that the book was familiar to pseudo-Peter. And even in the *Inferno*, which has no direct Biblical quotations, there are traces of use of the Septuagint. Still the fact remains that there is no literature save the Orphic (which is demonstrably earlier than *Peter*), which affords so many striking parallels to its general arrangement, and which at the same time can be reasonably supposed to have been accessible to the writer of the Apocalypse. On the whole we may say that while there is no need to look beyond Jewish sources for the conception of Paradise as we have it in the Greek text, that of Hell and its torments may in its main lines have an Orphic parentage.

Nevertheless, when the word Orphic has been said, the

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* (1911), p. 375.

reminder is needed that the word Hellenic has not been said. Orphism came traditionally from Thrace, which is not Greece proper. One of its greatest centres of activity was the Magna Graecia of Pythagoras. It is in South Italian tombs that we find the vases painted with scenes of the under-world, and the little golden scrolls inscribed with directions to the soul on its journey hence. Known though it was at Athens, the cult was an importation. Was it from Phoenicia that it came to Greek-speaking lands?

Enthusiasts for the Jewish origin of all things have pointed to Jewish Apocalypses as containing precisely similar Hells, and have claimed them or their sources as the true parents of the Petrine. Hitherto I think without avail, for while the family likeness is strong, it has yet to be shewn that the documents (visions of Moses, Elias, Isaiah) are not distinctly later than that which we are considering.

If a source which is neither Jewish nor Christian may be provisionally admitted for one part of the Apocalypse, what of the other half—the Last Judgement? The main elements are: destruction of the world by fire, a river of fire testing good and bad; resurrection of the body in the most literal acceptation of that phrase.

Broadly speaking the first of these elements—the final fire—is the only one for which it seems plausible to look outside Biblical or other Jewish writings for a source. The *ἐκπύρωσις* of the Stoics at once suggests itself. That, however, was a process of cleansing recurring at regular intervals: this is a single catastrophe; and when we read of the rolling up of the firmament, and the falling of the stars in Isaiah (xxxiv) and of the coming day that shall burn as an oven in Malachi, we seem to have sufficient Biblical warrant for the idea as it is presented in the Apocalypse, even if we leave out of account the very similar utterances of *Enoch* (cap. 102). No doubt it can be shewn that the passages in Isaiah and Malachi have behind them older Jewish or, it may be, Magian beliefs; but these were not the immediate sources of our Apocalypse.

The river of fire which in pseudo-Peter is the instrument of judgement is an image whose origin may be found in

the fiery stream of the Book of Daniel, which issued from before the Ancient of Days when the judgement was set and the books were opened. Given the image, and given also the universal idea that fire is a natural means of testing, we need not—though we might—go far afield to seek either for the history of the image itself, or of the easy transitions by which what in Daniel may be merely a heightening of the majesty and terror of the scene becomes in our Apocalypse the means of the final separation between good and bad. It seems, however, worth while to warn the reader that this testing river of fire is not the same as the fiery river of Hell—Pyriphlegethon, in short—in which souls suffer punishment. Such rivers—suggested, we may choose to think, by volcanic eruption and lava-streams—are common to all the *Infernos* of literature.

Nor need we postulate non-Jewish derivation for the teaching of the resurrection of the body as it is presented here ; especially when we find such a book as *Enoch* telling us that those who have been devoured by fish and wild beasts will rise again. Traces of the use of *Enoch* are prominent in this part of the Apocalypse ; from it is derived, for instance, the statement that Uriel presides over Gehenna and the resurrection.

The question will inevitably be asked whether, and how far, Egyptian religious conceptions have contributed to our book. That it was popular in Egypt there can be no doubt : the testimony of Clement, of the Bodleian fragment and of the Gizeh manuscript—not to mention the Ethiopic version—are unequivocal. It is only natural, too, to think of the *Book of the Dead* in connexion with any writing that deals with the future destiny of souls. My present answer would be that on the whole the resemblances to the Orphic literature are more striking than the resemblances to anything which is certainly Egyptian. But is it quite clear that the Orphic religion is itself independent of Egypt ? So long as that proposition remains undemonstrated, the way to the establishment of a connexion lies open, and I own that for myself it has always had some attraction.

VIII

So much it may be sufficient to say as to the immediate origins of the Apocalypse of Peter ; the *immediate* origins, I repeat, for it is surely obvious, and I have not disguised my consciousness of the fact, that all such imagery as we have been reviewing has its roots very far back in human history. Among the things that remain to be asked is one interesting question—What did the Church think of it all ? My impression is that the educated element realized very soon that it was a gross and vulgar book. I seem to detect a shyness in adducing it by name as an authority ; and I feel sure that it was found by opponents of Christianity to afford a very advantageous point of attack. Such has been the fate of many a popular tract or hymn in our own experience.

Take Celsus. Origen quotes him as saying :

‘ Another piece of silliness is their notion that when God lights up, like a cook, the rest of the race will be roasted and they only will escape—not only those that are alive, but those too who died long since, popping up out of the ground in their original bodies. It is a worm’s hope, absolutely. What human soul could ever want its rotten body back ? and you do not even all agree in the belief.’¹

When the possibility of it is challenged, he goes on, ‘ they have no answer, but take refuge in the absurdest of all positions, that all things are possible with God,’ which proposition he proceeds to demolish. I do not think, in the light of the Ethiopic text, that there can be much doubt that Celsus is making fun of our Apocalypse. The juxtaposition of the fire, the resurrection, and the omnipotence of God as shewn in raising bodies long dead, is demonstrative. How does Origen answer him ? Not by any appeal to the authority or antiquity of the Apocalypse, but by a reminder that certain philosophers had believed in an *ἐκπύρωσις*, and by words like these :

‘ Perhaps as it is proper, in teaching children, to use words

¹ *Contra Celsum*, v. 15.

suiting to their comprehension, so, in the case of those whom the scripture calls the outcasts and fools of the world, this crude teaching as to future punishment was salutary as a deterrent from vice. The statement is that only those will be unscathed by the fire who are pure in thought and in deed, while others for whom a chastisement by fire is necessary will be visited by it in a measure and with an object befitting the divine purpose for men.'

Similarly in treating of the resurrection of the flesh, he puts the matter on a higher plane, appealing, as indeed we might expect, to Paul and not to Peter, and ignoring what is said in the Apocalypse—save that he spends some time in refuting Celsus' taunt as to the words 'all things are possible with God.'

The heathen objector whom Macarius Magnes attacks takes very much the same line as Celsus. His use of the Apocalypse is certain, for he names it in one place: and to my mind it is clearly discoverable in another place which has not hitherto been adduced by any critic. I will collect and summarize the relevant passages.

He has pointed out that several predictions of the Lord have been unfulfilled or falsified, *e.g.* 'The Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, and then the end shall come' (whereas it has not come); the words to Paul 'no man shall set on thee to hurt thee' (whereas Paul was beheaded); the saying, 'Many shall come in my name saying I am the Christ' (whereas there has been no one, unless you count Apollonius of Tyana). Then he says 'And by way of an extra touch let this be cited which is said in the Apocalypse of Peter. It introduces the statement that the heaven will be judged along with the earth, thus "The earth will present all men to God in the day of judgement, and will itself be judged together with the heaven which encompasses it." Who does not know that while the order of earth is subject to perturbation, the heaven is eternally steadfast? And what offence has it committed to deserve judgement?

'And this saying too it gives [*or he utters*] which is full of impiety, namely, that which says "And every power of heaven shall be melted," etc. (as quoted above, coinciding

with Isa. xxxiv 4). This also is a boastful utterance of mythical fancy and wild extravagance, *namely the saying* "Heaven and earth shall pass away but my words shall not pass away." How could they stand if heaven and earth were to disappear? Were Christ to bring the heaven to nought, He would be acting like the worst of mankind who destroy their own offspring, for the Son confesses that God is Father of heaven and earth.' Later on he returns to the topic of the resurrection. The eternal order ought not to be upset in this way.

'It would be an unmeaning proceeding if, after creation is destroyed, resurrection should follow,—if a man who died, say, three days before it should be raised by God along with Priam and Nestor who died 1000 years before, or with their predecessors, back to the origin of the race. And if one looks into it, this whole business of the resurrection is full of absurdity: many have been drowned, eaten by fishes, devoured by birds and beasts.'

He proceeds to put an extreme case of this kind, and goes on:

'But you will tell me that this is possible with God. It is not so; He cannot do all things: He cannot for instance undo the facts that Homer was a poet, that Troy was taken, or that two and two make four: nor can He do what is morally evil.

'Consider, besides, what an enormous piece of unreason it would be that the Creator of that greatest and divinest piece of beauty, the heaven, should permit it to be melted in flame, should allow the stars to fall, and the earth to perish, and at the same time should raise up the rotten bodies of men, many of which, even in their lifetime, were most uncouth objects.'

It is not necessary, I think, to labour the proposition that the objector throughout has his eye upon the document which he has quoted by name, and which treats of just these topics in just the order indicated. His criticism that the resurrection of the dead *follows* the destruction of the world is justified—superficially at least—by the text of the Apocalypse, as the reader may see by referring to the analysis of the Ethiopic text which I have given. It is evident to me that in fixing upon the Apocalypse of Peter

as an easy victim, our author—Hierocles, or whoever else he may be—has taken a leaf out of Celsus' book.

In answering him, Macarius, like Origen, refuses to undertake anything like a defence of the Apocalypse, but has recourse to general considerations, or, if he appeals to another authority, is careful that it shall be strictly canonical. He is, however, forced to notice the Apocalypse, since it has been named, and this is how he does it :

'Let us examine this "trumped up" (*κεκομψευμένην*) statement in the Apocalypse of Peter' (which he repeats). 'Of course it is obvious that heaven and earth are not to be judged because of any sin they have committed ; but it is equally plain that the divine word contains no lie. For even if we rule out the Apocalypse of Peter, the words both of the prophet and of the gospel combine to drive us into agreement with the Apocalypse whether we will or no, since the prophet says "The heaven shall be rolled up," etc. and the gospel, "Heaven and earth shall pass away" etc.'

This readiness to dispense with the authority of the Apocalypse is what we might expect from a Fourth-century writer. For Origen it was a method not so easy to adopt, perhaps, in view of the greater respect enjoyed by the book in his day. I do not detect that, in the rest of his answers to the objector, Macarius shews any signs of having read the Apocalypse.

I have lately come to suspect that there was another reason for the rejection of the Apocalypse. If the reader will glance back at the last sentence of my analysis of the Second Book of the Sibyllines¹ he will see that it speaks of the ultimate release of sinners from torment at the prayer of the righteous. The statement does not appear in the Ethiopic, and the end of the Gizeh text, which might have contained it, is gone. But I am inclined to think that some such teaching figured in the original Apocalypse. Without setting out the evidence in detail, I will give three reasons. The first is the known and close dependence of the Sibyl upon pseudo-Peter.² The second

¹ *Supra*, p. 18.

² Note, in the passage referred to, the mention of the Acherusian lake and of Elysium, which occur in the Ethiopic.

is the fact that in the late Ethiopic continuation of the Petrine text this doctrine of ultimate salvation for all is taught, though with a good deal of diffidence, and with repeated injunctions that it is to be kept a profound secret, from all except the very few. The third is the occurrence, in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, of this paragraph, in which the italicized words correspond with pseudo-Peter :

'The righteous will behold the sinners in their punishment, with those who have persecuted them and delivered them up. Then will the sinners on their part behold the place of the righteous, and will be partakers of grace. In that day will that for which the (righteous) shall often pray, be granted to them.'

I interpret these last words as meaning that the salvation of sinners will be granted to the righteous. And I make the suggestion in the face of the fact that the Petrine Apocalypticist takes a grim pleasure in the description of torments, and reiterates epithets such as 'ceaseless,' 'unquenchable,' 'everlasting' in connexion with them. It is possible that he may have held out hope to some only of the lost : it is also possible, in spite of his terrifying language, that he may have relented and opened a door to all. But, if my suspicion is correct, his teaching, whether it applied to all or to a minority, would certainly arouse opposition from the main body of the Church.

One can understand how, apart from other considerations, a book which presented so many vulnerable places to outside attack would come to be at least kept in the background by apologists of the faith : one can also understand how its vivid colouring and clear-cut pictures would impress themselves upon the imagination of the rank and file of Christians. It is a remarkable fact that only three writers quote the book by name : one of these is the heathen objector, the second is Clement of Alexandria (who is singularly catholic, as we know, in these matters), and the last is the anonymous author of a Latin homily quite recently printed,¹ who cites Daniel, and Peter in his Apo-

¹ *Bulletin d'ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie chrét.* (1911), p. 35.

calypse, as mentioning the river of fire at the judgement—thus confirming, if confirmation were needed, a detail of the Ethiopic text. Other writers use it without naming it. It inspires certain phrases in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement. Hermas seems familiar with it—he is a writer not given to verbal citation; once only in his long book does he quote a phrase and name his source. Methodius in the Third century speaks vaguely of ‘inspired writings’ when he borrows a passage; elsewhere he uses the material, especially the description of Paradise, without acknowledgement. Cyril of Jerusalem has read it, but could hardly name it, since he has specially warned his hearers to have no dealings with apocryphal books. Ephraem Syrus, who derives much from it, is equally debarred from mentioning it, for he is writing poetry.

When we come to the more popular literature, we find ourselves dealing chiefly with visions which adapt, more or less closely, the description of Paradise and Hell. One detail runs through a good many of them which serves as an unmistakable sign of the presence of pseudo-Peter at some point—near or remote—of their ancestry. Clement has luckily seen fit to quote a sentence about ‘care-taking angels’ ἄγγελοι τημελοῦχοι. This adjective τημελοῦχος occurs nowhere else in Greek literature. Parallel to it and well attested as having occurred in the Apocalypse is another, *ταρταροῦχος*—applied to the chastening angels; this too seems to have gained currency from our Apocalypse. No older document uses it. Its occurrence in Hippolytus clinches the probability that he, living at Rome in the Third century, read our book. Both words, but especially the former, very soon proved puzzling to the simpler sort of writers. They were turned into proper names. The Ethiopic gives us the angel Temlakos and the angel Tatirokos. Temeluch and Tartaruch (or Taruc) are other corruptions which occur in such apocalypses as those of Paul and of John (the spurious one). The angel Tartaruchus survives in a charm of about the Seventh century from Italy, and in an apocalyptic fragment in, I think, Irish Latin printed not long ago from a manuscript of the Eighth

century¹—which fragment, I will. note in passing, is one of the sources employed in the Irish Vision of Adamnan.

When the great mass of other-world visions, which occur with especial frequency in lives of saints but are scattered thickly over other departments of mediaeval literature, have been collected and investigated, an element fairly derivable from the Apocalypse of Peter will probably be seen in the majority of them—though it would be rash to assert that after the age of Charlemagne at latest any copy of the text remained available in the West. Its place was usurped by its direct descendant, the Apocalypse of Paul, which, in an abridged Latin form and in many vernacular translations, held its ground to the end of the Middle Ages.² But we must not expect more than very general resemblances: each seer had his own favourite detail to add to the picture of the blessed or the lost, a detail which was the real *raison d'être* of his vision, and in favour of which some traditional material had to be discarded. It might be some image of delight or of terror which made a special appeal to his fancy, or it might be the introduction of a particular individual (in the Dantesque fashion) whose future destiny he felt called upon to determine and to proclaim. Many were the questions, personal and doctrinal, which could be settled to the satisfaction of one's immediate circle by a timely Apocalypse. A bishop lately deceased who had interfered with the privileges of an order, a knight who had bequeathed large sums to an abbey, could be set in appropriate surroundings; or, again, first-hand information could be given as to what awaits the souls of unbaptized children, and of persons who do not observe fasts, or attend as they should in church. Very important was the light thrown upon the purgatorial state by these visions, and great was the part they played in giving definite shape to

¹ *Revue Bénédictine* (1907), p. 323.

² Greek-speaking Christians had another substitute, in the Apocalypse of the Virgin, which was recently, and I suppose even now is, sold as a chapbook at Athens and elsewhere. It too may claim kinship with pseudo-Peter, most likely through the medium of pseudo-Paul.

the people's conception of it, and of the efficacy of the intercession of the Virgin and of the Saints.

Non huius temporis est ista quaestio. A great deal of spade-work among unattractive documents needs to be done before we can justly appraise the shares due to Apocalyptic tradition, to native mythology and folklore, and to the political, personal and religious needs of each visionary.

Something also remains before we can say that the best attainable text of the Apocalypse of Peter lies before us. An important step in that direction will have been taken when the forthcoming edition of the *Arabic* version is in our hands. MM. Griveau and Grébaut are engaged upon it. Of its provenance and age nothing is as yet known. But it will in all likelihood prove to be the parent of the Ethiopic, and there is every chance of its being better attested and less corrupt. It should, among other things, help us to a clearer view of what is genuine and what adventitious in our present text, and particularly in those opening sections of it which precede the description of the last judgement. Just at that point some admixture of ideas from other types of Apocalypse seems to have been imported into the Ethiopic.

IX

Now that we are able to form a pretty complete idea of the Apocalypse of Peter, we see that its chief claim for recognition rested on its being mainly a report of an utterance of the Lord, grafted upon other utterances already known and accepted: and that its appeal for popularity was strong because it gave a clear-cut and highly coloured picture of the destiny of individual souls both bad and good. The claim for recognition weakened with the rise of a critical sense in the Church: the other appeal continued to have some force because in the form of its presentation it was linked to earlier beliefs, and because the matter of it is of universal and absorbing interest. But the book was not forceful enough to obviate the desire for embellishment and recasting, and in fact it came to be replaced by understudies. Then,

too, its picture of the end of the world, though more definite than that afforded by the Gospels, did not satisfy, for it gave no indications of times and seasons. We know well the interest that attaches to apocalyptic cyphers and periods, to the eagle-wings of Esdras, the 1260 days of Daniel, and the Number of the Beast. Of these the Petrine Apocalypse had none to offer : it told only of the burning of the world and the resurrection of the flesh ; it gave no hint of the rise and fall of kingdoms, or of world-troubles, which could be interpreted in the light of contemporary events. Thus it differed from the other great Apocalypses : it lacked much that was found in *Enoch*, in which almost every form of Apocalyptic and prophetic writing is exemplified, in *Esdras* and *Baruch*, which combine so much religious teaching with their visions ; above all in *John*, which indeed has only to be named in order to suggest the measure of the gulf that separates it from *Peter*. They differ by all that divides folklore from prophecy—Mother Shipton from Isaiah. Who that has listened—especially in this year—to the lessons in Advent or at Septuagesima must not wonder that even for a moment the Revelation of Saint John the Divine could be equated with the Revelation of Peter ? Who is not shocked at the low level of perception which failed to see that the Johannine Book stands entirely alone—that, in spite of the fact that it is a mosaic of quotations, it is unsurpassed in originality, as it is in sublimity ? Perhaps it is easier for us, to whom its eccentricities of language are veiled by the astonishing beauty of the Authorized Version, to apprehend its greatness, than it was for Dionysius of Alexandria or for Eusebius. There are doubtless vulgarisms in the *Pilgrim's Progress* which 'put off' the educated of Bunyan's day, but to which our ears are wholly deaf. Perhaps, too, an age which had before it the writings of other veritable Christian prophets, Montanist or Catholic, found the contrast less glaring, the superiority less patent, than it seems now. This is doubtful. The wonder remains that *Peter* and *John* could have been classed together. The recovery of the original unadulterated text of *Peter*—if ever that happens—will do nothing to make the wonder less.

M. R. JAMES.

ART. II.—FATHER BENSON.

1. *Redemption : Some Aspects of the Work of Christ considered in a Course of Sermons.* By RICHARD MEUX BENSON. (London : J. T. Hayes. 1861.)
2. *The Manual of an Association for Prayer on behalf of the Unconverted.* Arranged by R. M. B. (London. 1862.)
3. *The Manual of Intercessory Prayer.* By R. M. BENSON. New Edition. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1902.)
4. *The Divine Rule of Prayer ; or Considerations upon the Lord's Prayer.* With various forms of Analysis and Paraphrase. By the same. (London : Bell and Daldy. 1866.)
5. *Bible Teachings. The Discourse at Capernaum, St. John VI.* By the same. (London : J. T. Hayes, [1875].)
6. *Benedictus Dominus : A Course of Meditations for most Days of the Year.* By the same. Two volumes. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. [1876-8].)
7. *Spiritual Readings for Every Day.* By the same. (London : J. T. Hayes. 1879.)
8. *The Final Passover : A Series of Meditations upon the Passion of our Lord.* By the same. (London : J. T. Hayes. 1884.)
9. *An Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.* By the same. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1892.)
10. *The War-Songs of the Prince of Peace. A Devotional Commentary on the Psalter.* By the same. (London : John Murray. 1901.)

And many other works.

WITHOUT a doubt Richard Meux Benson was one of the greatest spiritual forces in the English Church during the

latter half of the Nineteenth century. He is naturally thought of, and will in after years doubtless be chiefly remembered, as a leader and organizer of what is technically called the Religious Life. The marvellous development of religious communities amongst us since 1850, with their numerous institutions for works of mercy, spiritual and corporal, owed much to him directly and indirectly. The Sisterhoods of All Saints', Clewer, Wantage, East Grinstead and Ditchingham were all in existence, with others, before Father Benson entered on his life of special dedication ; but, apart from the impulse and encouragement which the foundation at Cowley gave to such enterprises, these and other communities, more particularly as their originators passed away, naturally turned for help and guidance to the little company of priests who were themselves living under rule. For religious orders of men, save for the brave but ill-guided ventures of Brother Ignatius at Claydon and at Norwich, Father Benson and his companions really blazed the way. And none rejoiced more truly than did he at the spread of the idea and its development in varied forms. He would be the last to claim any monopoly of vocations for Cowley. The Spirit bloweth where and as it listeth. Other similar efforts, not exactly on his lines, which seemed likely to divert men from his institute, were welcomed with genuine interest and sympathy. The Society of the Holy Ghost at Stoke in early days, the Community of the Resurrection later, the Order of the Holy Cross in the United States, and the Oxford Mission to Calcutta would all bear witness to this. Numbers Father Benson no more desired for his community than popularity or reputation for himself. These were to be dreaded rather than desired. The Religious Life could only exist healthily in an individual or in a community as a response to a Divine vocation. This was his constant teaching. A vocation is to be tested ; wherever recognized it must be faithfully carried out by the recipient and respected by others. Any consideration of utility or of mere economy as a motive for the establishment of a brotherhood or sisterhood, he would scorn. All sorts of external works, helpful and valuable, would be undertaken

by a community, some of which could hardly be otherwise attempted; but behind all the activity of its members must be the simple and absolute surrender of self, with all one is or has, to God, to live in close and undistracted fellowship with Him, after the example and in obedience to the counsels of His Incarnate Son. Accordingly this was the declaration put forth at the beginning of the Cowley brotherhood:

'The Society of the Mission Priests of St. John the Evangelist has been commenced in humble submission, as it is devoutly hoped, to a call of Almighty God.

'The Society has been formed for the cultivation of a life dedicated to God according to the principles of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and will occupy itself in works both Missionary and Educational, at home and abroad, for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, as God in His good Providence may seem to call.'

The founding of the Cowley Society was itself a development, to which previous years of devotion and self-discipline had led up. Trained by a pious mother, to whom he was deeply attached, Richard Benson from childhood accustomed himself to bear hardness as well as to engage in severe study. At Oxford he was a contemporary of Liddon and Richard West as Senior Students of Christ Church, and the last when he died of the members of the old foundation of the House. He gained a double-second in classics and mathematics—then of course the only final schools—in 1847, and the Kennicott Hebrew Scholarship the following year, when he was ordained and began his ministry as curate at Surbiton, where he afterwards contributed largely to the building of a new church. Benson was from the first and always a true disciple of the old Tractarians, in life as in doctrine, and exemplified their characteristics of devotion, reserve, austerity, and self-effacement. In 1850 he was appointed Vicar of Cowley, the old parish adjoining Littlemore, with its village and church (which he restored) two or three miles from Magdalen Bridge, up to which its parochial limits extended. The parish had been ordinarily served by a resident Student of Christ Church, who walked out for

the Sunday services. Archbishop Longley had been vicar while tutor and censor of the House. Father Benson wished to make the new church in Cowley St. John a memorial to him ; but appreciation of his leadership in the first Lambeth Conference failed to draw out the needed contributions.

As Vicar of the old parish Mr. Benson in a life of retirement, study and devotion was preparing himself for whatever God might call him to. The call came, as it seemed, to missionary work in India, and he was on the point of leaving England when in deference to Bishop Wilberforce's urging he gave up the plan, and devoted himself to providing for the spiritual needs of the new suburb of Oxford (now the largest parish of the city) which was beginning to spring up within the territorial limits of Cowley, though quite distinct from the old village. Here the iron church (afterwards twice enlarged) was built and named in honour of St. John the Evangelist, the old church being St. James'. In both churches Mr. Benson ministered, with assistance after a while as the new district developed, establishing himself in lodgings on the Iffley Road. Here we may recognize a great act of obedience, in the surrender of cherished plans for the fulfilment of immediate duties and in deference to the voice of authority. And richly was the surrender rewarded. The hundred-fold in this world was given. Instead of going himself a solitary missionary Benson was enabled later on to establish two houses of his order in India, at Bombay and Poona, as centres of manifold missionary influence, as well as branches of the community in America and South Africa. No wonder Bishop Wilberforce was prepared later to regard favourably the establishment of the brotherhood, having witnessed the absence of self-will in the plans and life of its founder. To this period of Father Benson's ministry belong four books, by no means the least valuable of his many publications: *Redemption*, a course of sermons, full of illuminating doctrine for those who will take the pains to study—not merely to read—the book ; *The Wisdom of the Son of David*, an exposition of Proverbs i—ix ; *The Divine Rule of Prayer*, an exposition of the Lord's Prayer with various paraphrases ;

and the well-known *Manual of Intercessory Prayer*. These shew the profundity of both thought and devotion which always marked the author, with his wide range of prayerful sympathy. It was during this period too that the Retreats and Parochial Missions which, largely under the influence and guidance of the Society of St. John, were to become so widespread, were first attempted in the Church of England, in somewhat experimental fashion. In both of these movements Mr. Benson took part. It was natural when an American priest (the Rev. Charles C. Grafton, afterwards Bishop of Fond du Lac) came over to England with the hope of gaining help for the formation of a Brotherhood, that Dr. Pusey should advise him to consult Mr. Benson. It was thus that the way was opened for the realization of the hopes and prayers of many years. On St. John the Evangelist's Day in 1866, after a year or more of immediate preparation, Father Benson, Father Grafton and Father O'Neill made their vows and the Society was formed. Another American priest, the Rev. Oliver S. Prescott, joined soon after, and in 1870 four Novices, including the next Superior, Father Page, were received.

Everything in those early days was most simple and most real. For a couple of years the Fathers lived in crowded quarters in a simple house on the Iffley Road, the Day Hours being said in a little oratory, while the other services were held in the iron church close by. In 1868 the Mission House in Marston street was occupied; and here were opportunities for varied forms of ministration. Large Retreats for Priests were held, not less than seventy being gathered in the Chapel at the top of the house under such conductors as Bishop King, then Principal of Cuddesdon, and Mr. Richard Randall. Clergymen were received as guests, whether with a view to testing their vocation for a dedicated life, or that after a season of retirement they might return to parochial work with renewed devotion and spiritual power. The Mission House was licensed by the University authorities as 'Benson Hall' for undergraduates who, desiring to prepare for the Ministry, could not afford the ordinary College expenses. When Keble College was opened this provision

was no longer needed, but it had meanwhile served a useful purpose. A South African Missionary Bishop, an Arch-deacon in the same province, and another in India were thus helped on to Holy Orders, with others ; but the chief reason for mentioning the undertaking here is that it was just an instance of Father Benson's readiness, at the cost of inconvenience, to embrace any opportunity for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom. The Mission Priests were not to have everything snug and comfortable at home.

It should here be noted that in the founding of the Society all was done in absolute loyalty to Church authority. Any other course at any time would have been abhorrent to Father Benson. Plans were fully put before the Bishop of Oxford and his blessing asked. An interesting correspondence shews Bishop Wilberforce's readiness to go further in the regulation of the community, and Father Benson's care that in an experimental stage neither the Bishop nor the brotherhood should be compromised. All external work would be controlled by ecclesiastical authority, diocesan and parochial, but the internal life of the brotherhood should be free, like the life of clergymen living singly. To this the Bishop, after carefully weighing the matter, agreed, promising to give public preachers' licences to any clergymen residing with Father Benson so long as he could approve of the institution generally without committing himself absolutely to all its details. 'This (the Bishop wrote) is what I think you desire, and I think it is the best course.' A characteristic anecdote may be told in this connexion of Bishop Wilberforce's dealing with one of the American priests :

'Mr. ——— (he said), you understand that I cannot legally license you for more than two Sundays, but you will see that this paper with my signature is undated, so that it is always in force, unless I hear of your doing something objectionable, in which case I shall promptly date the licence and it will expire the next week.'

The attitude of Bishop Mackarness to the Society is shewn by the fact that when during the first year of his episcopate a Novice sought from him ordination to the

Diaconate, the Bishop said that he thought he ought to be assured by examination of the Rule that there was employment appropriate for so young a man and a Deacon. Having read the Rule he expressed himself satisfied and ordained the man without any other title than his membership in the brotherhood. When the Constitution was finally drawn up, and both it and the Rule formally approved by Bishop Mackarness as the elected Visitor of the Society, Father Benson rejoiced to lead the brethren over to Cuddesdon to receive the Bishop's blessing. Father Benson's relation to successive Bishops of Oxford, during the time when he was a beneficed Priest in the Diocese and Superior of the Society, has been dwelt on in part for the sake of illustrating his general attitude of loyal obedience to constituted authority.¹ A like loyalty he always shewed to the Anglican position as to doctrine, discipline, and worship, as representing true Catholicism. Extravagant presentations of doctrine, with their corresponding expressions in worship, he deplored. But his line was not that of protest but rather of positive instruction which, for those who accepted it, would bar out erroneous conceptions. His exposition of the Discourse at Capernaum (St. John vi) in *Bible Teachings* is typical of his invariable method of teaching the truth rather than of directly combating error. Attention may well be called anew to this balanced statement of Eucharistic doctrine. When asked on one occasion why he did not continue (as had been intended) the *Evangelist Library*

¹ The following dates may be given :

1850 R. M. B. Vicar of Cowley.

1859 The Iron Church erected. Opened October 19.

1866 The Society founded.

1868 The old Mission House opened.

1870 R. M. B. Vicar of Cowley St. John, separated from the old parish.

1884 Constitution approved by Bp. Mackarness, Sept. 22

1886 R. M. B. resigned the parish, the Rev. W. Scott becoming Vicar of Cowley St. John, and ministering in the new church of SS. Mary and John, the Fathers still using the Iron Church until their Collegiate Church was dedicated in 1896.

1890 R. M. B. resigned as Superior of the Society.

1901 The present Mission House opened.

Catechism, a mine of valuable theological definitions, Father Benson replied that he could not teach the Seven Sacraments, and that nobody would buy or use the book if he didn't. Disproportionate teaching he greatly disliked, such as that which he once characterized as 'Preaching Seven Sacraments and mostly practising one' (Confession). The supreme importance of realizing the dignity of our regenerate condition through Baptism as the only basis for a true conception of the Eucharist is insisted on both in *Bible Teachings* and in his illuminating *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*. Thus he wrote in a letter :

'Reservation after the Roman manner is objectionable to my mind not because it expresses the Real Presence in the Sacrament too strongly, but because it implies a denial of the Real Presence in the baptized. Rome purchases clear definitions by exhausting the atmosphere. If the daily office is reduced to Jewish measure of emptiness, we are reduced to empty Jewish worshippers. The Creed gives Baptism the greatest dignity among the Sacraments, mentioning it and none other. Roman Theologians of course give the Holy Eucharist the greatest dignity. Why? Because they have been able to change the mystery in the one case into a miracle. They could not do this in the other case where the change was more personal. So practically they let the mystery evaporate altogether.'

Two points in Father Benson's theology are here emphasized. He had a dread of over-definition. In a perfectly exact definition concerning the things of God, he would say, one thing you may be sure of, that it is wrong. The mystery has been lost in cramping the Divine operation into the limited terms of human thought. The present work of the Holy Ghost, applying the merits of Christ and making us one with Him, was another constant theme. 'The Blood of Jesus can cleanse the foulest sinner, but it cannot extinguish the flames of Hell' was a saying that represented his teaching about the Atonement. While put in different words the leading thought of Dr. Robert Moberly's teaching about our Lord as the Representative Penitent is to be found in Father Benson's sermons on *Redemption*, and so is much of Dr. DuBose's teaching in *Soteriology*, though Father

Benson would have shrunk from some of the latter writer's terminology.

As a preacher Father Benson was wonderful. That would probably be the word that the great majority of persons would apply to his preaching. He could not be, and would not have wished to be, a popular preacher. But impressive he most certainly was, intellectually and spiritually. Didactic, even magisterial, never controversial or argumentative, but prophetic, telling forth the truth, with little perhaps of oratorical persuasiveness; the truth should make its own appeal to hearts and consciences, and this assuredly it did with all the force of absolute conviction and sincerity on the part of the speaker. Father Benson once suggested as a possible defect in Dr. Liddon's preaching that he assumed too much the role of an advocate, abandoning the position of authority which befitted the preacher. Each man, of course, had his own gift and filled his own place. 'Thus saith the Lord' was certainly the tone of the Father's preaching, profoundly theological, deeply spiritual, but without any display of learning. He had studied and was familiar with the Fathers, Scholastic and Ascetic writers, and Anglican divines; but all were digested and used without quotation for the elucidation of Holy Scripture, which was ever the ground-work of his teaching. Of course his sermons were often far above the heads, as well as the experience, of his hearers. Dr. King once said 'We follow him with a telescope, and now and then catch sight of him soaring in the heavens.' Not infrequently his sermons would take the form of soliloquies or meditations in the presence of the people rather than of addresses to them. The College scouts and Oxford artisans, who with their families formed a large part of the population of Cowley St. John in the time of Father Benson's charge of the parish, understood little of his teaching or aims; but they knew they had a Saint among them, a man who preached and lived the New Testament life. The sternness of his preaching was sometimes disheartening, as when in Boston he reckoned that, while the number of the Israelites in the Wilderness was just about that of the population of

the city, only two entered the Promised Land ; whereupon a lady in the congregation remarked that she knew her spiritual guide would be one of those two, and as it was not likely that she would be the other, she might as well give up trying.

In connexion with Father Benson's prophetic utterance it should be mentioned that in the absolute absence of self-consciousness in the preacher, absorbed in his message, all the hesitancy of speech which was noticeable in ordinary conversation entirely disappeared. His language was faultless, though he had a vocabulary of his own, as well as lines of thought, which had to be mastered before one could easily follow his discourse. How the intellectual preparation was made for his continuous preaching one wondered. Years of study and care in composition must have stored the mind and trained the faculties of expression.

Doubtless it was in Retreats, where he was leading devout or at least earnest people to God, that Father Benson's peculiar gifts shone most. His Retreat addresses were remarkable. Here his voice, in preaching often harsh or rasping, was easy and delicate, and his diction exquisite, as he poured out his soul in reflexion and aspiration. The theme of the meditations was sustained and worked out in wonderful completeness, if the exegesis was sometimes strained. The same may be said of his devotional writings. *Benedictus Dominus*, *The Final Passover*, the *Spiritual Readings* and other courses of meditations for the Christian Year are the work of a spiritual genius, to whom a certain licence for eccentricity must be allowed. The commentary on the Psalms, with characteristic paradox entitled *The War-Songs of the Prince of Peace*, he probably regarded as his *magnum opus*. On this he spent untold labour, carrying the manuscript about with him during the last years of his activity, for work in all spare hours. The leading idea of the book, by which the interpretation of a Psalm is largely determined by the symbolical value of the Hebrew numeral letter that marks its place in the Psalter, had been suggested by Dr. Milo Mahan of the General Theological Seminary in New York (an uncle of the late Admiral Alfred T. Mahan)

in his work *Palmoni, or The Numerals of Scripture*. Many will doubt whether the arrangement of the Psalms will bear the weight that is thus placed on it. But none can fail to recognize the spiritual insight of the commentator, even though they may think that much of the comment is read into rather than drawn out from the Psalms.

As a Spiritual Director Father Benson truly exemplified the dictum that a priest should be as a lion in the pulpit but a lamb in the confessional. Severe of course he could be on occasion, and uncompromising with evil in any form he always was, but wonderfully patient and considerate, and careful not to overdrive the flock. Probably the awe with which everyone regarded him, on account of his goodness and his greatness, and from the sense of a certain separateness, was least felt when seeking his ministry in confession, for then his tenderness would be specially manifest. The heart of fire towards God he truly had, and the heart of steel towards himself, but not less the heart of flesh towards his brethren. If in his community he was the Master, no less was he the Servant of all, ready at any time to be interrupted to deal with any sort of need or difficulty, leading on the willing and shaming any who lagged by his own example of utter and absolute self-abnegation. His nights alone could be claimed for undisturbed prayer, study and writing, and to these exercises they were largely given. At Cowley many in divers parts of the world felt there was one to whom difficult moral and spiritual problems could be referred with the certainty of promptly receiving a judgement, not infallible, but clear, weighty, and absolutely free from any bias of worldly considerations. There was never a doubt that at any cost the counsellor would himself be prepared to take the line which he recommended, that he had been long living by the principles which underlay his advice.

His personal asceticism, never obtruded, and never overcast with gloom, was to all who witnessed it a marvel. Perhaps it would be more exact to say the result of his asceticism, for he seemed to have risen superior to ordinary necessities of food and sleep, and to have become indifferent

to pain and discomfort, as when he preached a University sermon on one Palm Sunday, returning afterwards to the Iron Church to take the midday celebration, with his forehead and one eye bandaged on account of a large carbuncle, or when he seized the opportunity of a sprained ankle that confined him to the house to hobble about the library with its ladder to rearrange the books. His physical frame (which Dr. Littledale described as a combination of catgut and iron) had been schooled to endure hardness until it seemed to have been raised above the weaknesses of other mortals. The inability of Christians in these days to practise exterior mortification, as our forefathers in the faith were wont to do, Father Benson regarded as a humiliation to be accepted in penitence for general self-indulgence and loss of spiritual power. He rejoiced when he felt that he could add a little to the austerity of the life of the community, as in the institution of a strict quarterly fast on certain Vigils, when everyone was bound privately to recite the whole Psalter. It was a real trouble to him when the annual month's Retreat of the Society was shortened to a fortnight, hardly considering perhaps that few besides himself were equal to serving as Conductor for the longer period.

It would be a great mistake for any to think of Father Benson as a narrow ecclesiastic, or a recluse with no vision beyond the walls of his cell. As has been implied, his mind was highly cultivated, his tastes were wide. Literature, poetry, music, art, history, and science all appealed to him. His remarks on contemporary thought and politics were shrewd. Little escaped his quick observation. Deadness to the world and its aims, he constantly taught, ought to expand and quicken interest in all God's works, and in all the manifestations of His mind and purposes. To the Christian, as to Christ, the grave is the gate to a new life.

Doubtless, as with other eminent servants of God, Father Benson had the defects of his qualities. He had prejudices, which prevented his being quite fair to those whom, for various reasons, he distrusted—Mr. Gladstone, for instance, Newman, Broad Churchmen generally, and

University liberals. He had no use for schemes for social betterment that were not distinctly Christian. Christianity was to him the sole source of human regeneration. Other movements, philanthropic or religious, in India or in England—or in America,—were counterfeits, devices of Satan for holding men back from what could alone avail. From the philosophical and religious principles imbibed in his youth he never departed, though he contrived to bring under them much of later thought. Difficulties of belief he probably never experienced; his temptations would have been of another sort. He did not find it easy to devolve duties and responsibilities, and probably attempted to carry alone a greater burden than anyone could bear, combining the charge of a large parish with the rule of a religious community, without the aid for many years of subordinate officers, with continual ministerial engagements in London and elsewhere, and an overwhelming correspondence. If the giving of a constitution to the Society and its more complete organization had not been so long delayed, some serious troubles and losses might have been avoided. But what were limitations or possible mistakes of this sort in comparison with the service he was allowed to render the Church in the revival of the Religious Life for men on sound and spiritual lines, with his own splendid example of what the Religious Life, as the perfecting of Christian life, should mean, in the entire dedication of all gifts and powers to be strenuously and unintermittently used for God's glory, in a life of simple detachment from the world and of fellowship with Him?

The word 'detachment' (a favourite word of his) recalls a marked characteristic of Father Benson's life. There was a certain separateness (aloofness would not exactly express the impression), a self-containedness, which was never broken down, however intimate his intercourse might be with friends or brethren. The secret of this was of course the greater intimacy and closer fellowship which was ever cherished with Almighty God, not merely in whose presence, but in whose companionship he ever walked. This veil of detachment, through which gleams of natural affection

were occasionally allowed to flash, gave a calmness amid all the separations incidental to missionary work, in bereavements, in defections and disappointments, in financial anxieties. None of these things moved Father Benson. With the Apostle he could and did rejoice in tribulations, always bearing about the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in His servant.

The story of the last years of Father Benson's earthly life is infinitely pathetic, yet sublime in its triumph. 'Perfected through sufferings.' Blind, deaf, crippled with rheumatism, having outlived all his contemporaries, condemned to inactivity in the scene of his greatest activities; venerated with filial affection by the community which owed its existence to him, but over which he had ceased to rule, and almost necessarily witnessing certain developments that did not commend themselves to his judgement; unable even to officiate at the altar in the chapel of the Mission House, but wheeled into the church for his daily Communion, never omitted until the day before his passing through the veil; with mental powers scarcely impaired, and spiritual powers in no wise lessened—so he lasted on well into his ninety-first year, like St. John bearing witness in life, if no longer by word, to the message he had received, full of ardent desire to be taken, yet patiently waiting for the call.

'He which testifieth these things saith, Yea: I come quickly. Amen: come, Lord Jesus.'

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Bishop of Vermont.

ART. III.—SOME RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

- I. *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel, with an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions.* By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Second edition. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1913.)

2. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Ninth edition. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1913.)
3. *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament.* By G. B. GRAY, D.D. (London : Duckworth. 1913.)
4. (a) *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* Von Dr. E. SELLIN. First edition, 1910 ; second edition, 1914. (Leipzig : Quelle und Meyer.)
 (b) *Zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament : Eine Erwiderung auf die gleichnamige Schrift C. H. Cornills.* Von Dr. E. SELLIN. (Leipzig. 1912.)
5. *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament, mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen.* Von D. CARL STEUERNAGEL. (Tübingen. 1912.)
6. *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage : I. Die Gottesnamen der Genesis : Jakob und Israel : P in Genesis 12-50.* Von JOHANNES DAHSE. (Giessen : Töpelmann. 1912.)
7. *The Divine Names in Genesis.* By the Rev. JOHN SKINNER, M.A., D.D. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1914.)
8. *Pentateuchal Criticism.* By the Rev. D. C. SIMPSON, M.A. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. H. E. RYLE, D.D. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1914.)
9. *Pentateuchal Studies.* By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B. (London : Elliot Stock. 1912.)
10. *Mose und seine Zeit. Ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen.* Von H. GRESSMANN. (Göttingen. 1913.)
11. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.* By LORING W. BATTEN. 'International Critical Commentary' series. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1913.)
12. *Die Papyrusfund von Elephantine.* Von EDUARD MEYER. Second edition. (Leipzig. 1912.)

13. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah*. Chap. i-xxxix. By G. BUCHANAN GRAY, D.D., D.Lit.; xl-lxvi. By ARTHUR S. PEAKE, D.D. In two volumes. Vol. I. *Introduction and Commentary on ch. i-xxvii*. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1912.)
14. *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*. Various articles by Dr. G. BUCHANAN GRAY in *The Expositor* from May 1913. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)
15. *Jeremiah and Lamentations*. In two volumes. By A. S. PEAKE, D.D. 'Century Bible.' Vol. i. 1911; Vol. ii. 1912. (Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack.)
16. *Die zwölf Propheten in den Versmassen der Urschrift*. Uebersetzt von D. BERNHARD DUHM. (Tübingen. 1910.)
17. Translation of the above. By Dr. ARCHIBALD DUFF. (London: A. and C. Black. 1912.)
18. *Anmerkungen zu den zwölf Propheten*. Von D. BERNHARD DUHM. Sonderabdruck aus der *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. (Giessen: Töpelmann. 1911.)
19. *L'Ecclésiaste*. Par E. PODECHARD. (Paris: Lecoffre. 1912.)
20. *Die Schriftwort in der rabbinischen Literatur*. Von Dr. V. APTOWITZER. 1 Heft 1906; 2 Heft 1908. (Wien: Hölder.)
21. *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel, textkritisches, sprachliches, und sachliches*. Von ARNOLD B. EHRLICH. Vol. iv. *Jesaia, Jeremia*; Vol. v. *Ezechiel und die Kleinen Propheten*. (Leipzig. 1912.)
22. *Der Alttestamentliche Prophetismus: drei Studien*. Von D. E. SELLIN. (Leipzig. 1912.)
23. *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom*. 'Kerr Lectures.' By the Rev. ADAM C. WELCH, TH.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1912.)

24. *The Prophets of Israel . . . their Faith and Message.* By MOSES BUTTENWIESER, PH.D. Vol. i. (New York : The Macmillan Company. 1914.)
25. (a) *The Faith of the Old Testament.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER NAIRNE, B.D. 'The Layman's Library.' (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1914.)
- (b) Review of the above by Prof. R. H. KENNETT in *The Journal of Theological Studies.* July 1914. (London : H. Frowde.)
26. *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament.* By H. WHEELER ROBINSON, M.A. (London : Duckworth. 1913.)
27. *The Religion of Israel.* By H. P. SMITH. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1914.)

And other works.

I

OLD Testament studies ramify in many directions, and no attempt will be made in the present article to cover the whole, or anything like the whole, ground of recent research. To make such an attempt, even cursorily, would require a large volume, and the co-operation of a band of scholars. The interpretation of the Old Testament literature is necessarily affected, in various degrees, by the progress of research in special departments of knowledge, such as archaeology, comparative religion, and comparative philology. These departments are, of course, primarily in the hands of specialists ; but the duty rests upon Old Testament scholars, in the strict sense—those, namely, who devote their main energies to the study and elucidation of the Old Testament text and literature—to assimilate and co-ordinate with their own special study the most important results attained in other related branches of science.

It may be said at once that recent work on the Old Testament shews unmistakable signs of the influence of all these special factors. Within the domain of archaeology not only has there been a vast accumulation of new material

and discovery, much of it having a direct bearing on the Old Testament itself,¹ but the recovery of the immense literature and language of Babylonia and Assyria has completely transformed many of the old problems. How profoundly this factor has affected the study of the Old Testament within recent years can be seen in every department, and also in the growth of a special literature which, while it has the Old Testament in view, is primarily the work of Assyriologists.² A good example of the value of Assyriology for solving philological and archaeological difficulties that confront the Hebraist is the elaborate article by Muss-Arnolt, published in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages* a few years ago,³ on the mysterious Urim and Thummim. These are connected with the Babylonian 'tablets of destiny,' and the explanation of the terms is found in the Babylonian *u'uru* 'command,' and *tummu* 'oracle.' The study of Assyrian and Babylonian has, indeed, exercised an important influence on Hebrew philology. Thus, to take one instance, it has been shewn

¹ E.g. the Elephantine papyri, and, earlier, the stele of Hammurabi. In Palestine itself important excavations have been carried out at Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo and Jericho, not to speak of Jerusalem. The bearing of the new archaeological evidence on the Old Testament can be seen in Driver's essay in *Authority and Archaeology* (1899—unfortunately not revised), in his Schweich lectures, *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (1909); Père Vincent's *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907); and G. A. Smith's *Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (1907-08), not to mention more special works.

² In this connexion reference may be made to Dr. Alfred Jeremias' *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (2nd ed. 1906), English translation, 2 vols. 1911 (Williams and Norgate); E. Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament (K.A.T.)*, 3rd ed. (by Zimmern and Winckler, 1902, entirely re-written); C. J. Ball's *Light from the East* (1899), and various works by Sayce, Hommel, Gressmann and Winckler (esp. the latter's *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, 1892, and *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*, i. 1895, ii. 1900). Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century* (1903) may also be referred to here.

³ Vol. xvi. 193 ff.

that the meaning of the Babylonian word which is identical with the Hebrew for 'atone' (*kipper*) is 'to make bright' or 'white,' which suggests that the root-idea of the Biblical term is not 'cover' but, as Robertson Smith divined, 'wipe clean.'¹ Recent lexicographical work has not failed to utilize the new philological material made available from Assyrian and Babylonian sources, and notably the splendid Dictionary of the Targumic, Talmudic, and Midrashic literature compiled by M. Jastrow.² Much new light also is shed on the darker and more remote places of philology by a recently published work of which English scholarship may well be proud—Dr. C. J. Ball's epoch-making *Chinese and Sumerian* (1914).

A new movement in Old Testament research has, in fact, developed from the Assyriological side, marked, it is true, in its earlier phases by some extravagances, but yet profoundly significant and far-reaching in its influence. It may be said to have come to a head with the 'Babel und Bibel' controversy, which followed the lectures of the Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch in 1902 and 1903.³ In its most extreme form the movement known as 'Pan-Babylonismus' found its leading exponent in Hugo Winckler, reinforced by Alfred Jeremias. The key to all history and mythology was found in 'astral conceptions of phenomena influencing all ancient science, all ancient belief, all early custom and thought.' Jeremias, in the work referred to above, illustrated this theory in its bearing upon the Old Testament, and it has also influenced other scholars.⁴

A rather different view is represented by such scholars as

¹ See a note by Dr. C. F. Burney in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1910, and for a full discussion articles in the *Expository Times* xxii. pp. 232f, 320f, 325f., 378f, 478f. Dr. C. J. Ball was the first to suggest the explanation of *kipper* given above.

² 2 vols. 1903. E. König's *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alt. Test.* (Leipzig. 1910) may also be mentioned in this connexion.

³ Translated into English under the title *Babel and Bible*, 1903 (Williams and Norgate).

⁴ Notably Benzinger in the 2nd ed. of his *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1907.

Gunkel and Jensen in their emphasis on the presence of myth and legend in the Old Testament, which are traced to an ancient Babylonian origin. Indeed, according to the latter scholar, most of the historical figures of the Old Testament are successive transformations of the Babylonian mythical heroes Gilgamesh and Eabani. An excellent corrective of these extravagances will be found in the edition of the Gilgamesh-epic by Ungnad and Gressmann,¹ where it is recognized that the story, in its present form, is probably composed of a number of episodes originally more or less independent, and that these are not necessarily the originals of every similar story found elsewhere. Gressmann has also interpreted the epic, apart from the astral hypothesis of the 'pan-Babylonists.'

The new movement has emphasized, and to some extent with justice (*e.g.* in the case of the Creation and Deluge stories), the direct influence of Babylonia upon the Old Testament. Nevertheless, as has been well pointed out by Mr. Stanley A. Cook,

'if the Old Testament reveals close parallels with Babylonian myth, law, poetry etc. it must not be forgotten that parallels have also been found in Egypt, ancient Arabia, North Syria, and Phoenicia. . . . There is good evidence for true imports and for the influence of foreign models; but the material culture was not re-coloured by that of Babylonia or of Egypt, and some individuality and originality must be admitted.'²

While the new school emphasizes the antiquity of much of the traditional material, and sometimes expresses itself sharply against the purely literary-critical methods associated with the school of Wellhausen, it yet adheres in the main to the fundamental positions of the latter, at

¹ *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*. Neu übersetzt von ARTHUR UNGNAD und . . . erklärt von H. GRESSMANN, 1911 (in the series *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Test.* ed. by Gunkel and Bousset).

² *The Present Stage of O.T. Research* in *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (1909), p. 75. This essay contains an admirable account and criticism of the 'Babylonist' movement.

least in its most prominent representatives.¹ Thus Gunkel in his great commentary on *Genesis*,² though he concludes that the patriarchal narratives are essentially made up of material that is pre-Mosaic—the older traditions having reached their present form, at the latest, by 900 B.C.—yet presupposes throughout the literary analysis (with the dates assigned) into JEP.

‘Die Unterscheidung dieser drei “Quellenschriften” der Genesis ist ein gemeinsames Ergebnis der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft, an dem anderthalb Jahrhunderte gearbeitet haben.’³

But these sources are themselves only compilations of old traditions, which are in no sense the products of a single writer, but are of diverse origin, and which, before they assumed literary form, depended upon a long oral transmission. The collectors were not the masters but the servants of this material.⁴ Gunkel and his school have rendered immense service to Biblical scholarship by illustrating so fully and lucidly the ancient and traditional character of much Old Testament material, which has persisted, too, in many cases, through successive transformations. By their laborious but fruitful and discerning work these scholars have done much to rescue Old Testament criticism from the danger of an arid literalism.⁵ The most striking general characteristic of Old Testament criticism during recent years is the increased and increasing recognition by scholars of very different schools of the necessity of a deeper probing of the historical and other problems. These, it is realized, are far more complex than

¹ E.g. Winckler, Jeremias, Gunkel, Gressmann and others.

² 3rd ed. 1909. ³ *Genesis*, p. lxxx. ⁴ *Op. cit.* p. lxxxv.

⁵ The importance of Gunkel's work on Genesis is generously acknowledged by Dr. Skinner in the preface to his own elaborate edition (in the ‘International Critical’ series) as follows: ‘Every student must have felt that Gunkel's work, with its aesthetic appreciation of the genius of the narratives, its wider historical horizons, and its illuminating use of mythological and folklore parallels, has breathed a new spirit into the investigations of Genesis whose influence no writer on the subject can hope or wish to escape.’

was once supposed. The wealth of new material—though at many points the *data* are still lamentably scanty—has naturally brought in the consideration of new factors, while the application of the comparative method has put a new complexion upon the whole aspect of Old Testament study. And this applies not merely to the pre-historic antecedents, but also to the whole of the historical period, including the post-Exilic. Indeed in the case of the latter the energetic discussion of the problems that arise in connexion with the origin of Judaism, as well as the vastly extended study that has been given to the apocalyptic and apocryphal literature, have led to a great enrichment. In connexion both with the early and later phases of Israeli history the works of Eduard Meyer are noteworthy, especially his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, a new edition of which began to appear in 1909,¹ but which has so far not been made available, unfortunately, in English. The same scholar's *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906) and *Die Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896) are also books of fundamental importance.

The work of reconstruction has naturally proceeded apace during recent years, though it cannot be said that anything like final results have yet been reached. Here the pioneer work of Professor Cheyne, remarkable alike for its amazing energy and ingenuity, has opened up paths where few, if any, can follow. Perhaps the most valuable of his contributions since the publication (in 1904) of the fascinating and stimulating *Bible Problems* is the *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* (1907), which contains a mass of *data* and acute discussions that no serious student can afford to neglect. It is true that what is known as the 'Jerahmeelite' theory occupies a dominant place here as also in his later books.² But with all its exaggerations the

¹ A French translation of the new edition of this great work was begun with the publication in 1912 of a first volume under the title *Histoire de l'Antiquité*. (Paris: Paul Geuthner.)

² *The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah* (1908), *The Two Religions of Ancient Israel* (1911), *The Mines of Isaiah re-explored* (1912), *The Veil of Hebrew History* (1913), *The Reconciliation of Races and Religion* (1914).

theory of the possible existence of a South Palestinian or North Arabian Musri, and that this has sometimes been confused in the Old Testament with Misrim (Misraim) the Hebrew designation of Egypt, is exceedingly probable.¹ There was undoubtedly a large influx of population from time to time from the south into Palestine. It is significant that in Sennacherib's own account of the campaign in Palestine of 701 B.C. he expressly mentions that Arabians formed part of Hezekiah's garrison in Jerusalem.² As the late Professor W. R. Harper has remarked,³ 'every year since the work of Robertson Smith brings Israel into closer relationship with Arabia.'

In constructive work applied to the presentment of the religion of Israel much has been done within recent years. In English the student has the elaborate article on *The Religion of Israel* by Professor E. Kautzsch which covers no less than 123 double-column pages in the extra (fifth) volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1904). This is one of the best introductions to the serious study of the subject. There are also Addis' *Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra* (1906), an admirably critical and independent work, and Karl Marti's *The Religion of the Old Testament* (1907), a brief outline. Both these volumes form part of Messrs. Williams and Norgate's 'Crown Theological Library.' Other works by Professors Welch (1913), Nairne and H. P. Smith (1914) will be referred to more fully below. An independent contribution to a part of the subject by an English scholar is Dr. W. H. Bennett's valuable book *The Religion of the post-Exilic Prophets* (1908), and mention may be made here, also, of Professor Archibald Duff's *Hints on Old Testament Theology* (1908).

In German there is Marti's new edition of Kayser's *Theologie des Alten Testaments* published under the title *Geschichte des Israelitischen Religion* (1907). One interesting

¹ See an excellent statement on the subject in Paton's *The Early History of Syria and Palestine* (1902), pp. 243ff. *et al.*

² See the passage quoted in Driver's *Isaiah* (2nd edit.), p. 68f.

³ *Amos and Hosea* (Intern. Crit. series), p. liv.

point is his treatment of the Servant passages in Isaiah, which (as in his commentary) he regards as integral parts of Isaiah xl-lv, consequently identifying the suffering servant of Is. liii with the nation of Israel.¹ A more conservative treatment of the theme is seen in Professor E. Sellin's *Die Alttestamentliche Religion im Rahmen des andern altorientalischen* (1908), which, like all his books, is extremely interesting. The author attempts to shew that modern criticism and the comparative method may be accepted without diminishing the value of the Old Testament as a unique record of divine Revelation. Israelite religion may be traced in its origins to common Oriental ideas and practices, but all these have been transformed and glorified by the infusion of a new spirit, which has resulted in an exalted doctrine and faith. A more thoroughly old-fashioned standpoint is maintained in Professor König's *Geschichte der Alttestamentlichen Religion kritisch dargestellt* (1911). This book follows a large number of previous contributions by its learned author to Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and Old Testament theology.² König's positions are decidedly conservative—he regards the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx 20—xxiii 33) as Mosaic, and places the E and J strata of the Hexateuch in the period of the Judges and of David. He refuses (no doubt rightly) to regard Amos as the creator of a new religion, rejects Budde's Kenite hypothesis of the origin of the Jahveh religion in Israel, and is, naturally, an opponent of pan-Babylonian claims. It must be confessed that with all its learning Dr. König's book is uncritical in many of its positions. It is, however, a valuable contribution.

¹ This subject has been independently treated by two English scholars, viz. Prof. Peake in *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, and Prof. Kennett in *The Servant of the Lord* (1911).

² *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache* (2 vols. 1881-95), *Historisch-comparative Syntax der Hebr. Sprache* (1897), *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die Bibl. Literatur* (1900), *Hebräisch und Semitisch* (1901), *Hebr. und Aram. Wörterbuch zum Alt. Test.* (1910), *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes bis auf Jesus Christus* (1908).

Another important contribution to this branch of the subject is Bertholet's *Die jüdische Religion von der Zeit Esras bis zum Zeitalter Christi*, which forms the second volume of the revised edition of Stade's *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1911). Here the history of the Jewish religion is treated in three divisions: (1) the development of Judaism between Ezra and Alexander; (2) Judaism in its relation with the Greek world; (3) Judaism in its conflict with hostile influences within and without. He allows a large part to the play of foreign influence (especially Greek thought) in the development of the religion; and sometimes, perhaps, carries this too far, as in assigning the universalism which comes to expression in the Psalter and the Book of Jonah purely to Hellenizing influence. Some of the dates assigned to the literature will not command universal assent (e.g. Ecclesiastes and Zech. ix-xiv are assigned to the Maccabean period), but the work, as a whole, with its solid array of facts, will be found highly stimulating and instructive even by students who cannot accept all its conclusions. The full treatment of the religion of the Psalter will prove especially welcome.¹

Of histories it must suffice to mention here the series of four volumes edited by Professors Kent and Sanders, viz. *A History of the Hebrew People*, vol. i. (twelfth edition), and vol. ii. (thirteenth edition), 1911, and vol. iii. *A History of the Jewish People* (1899)—all these by Kent, and vol. iv. under the same title, carrying the history down from the Maccabean to the New Testament period, by Professor Riggs (1900). The careful presentment of the material and sources, the short critical discussions, and the constructive narrative make these volumes model text-books. In this connexion attention may be called here afresh to Piepenbring's useful *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël* (Paris. 1898). For its date this is admirably critical and comprehensive, and has the advantage (for some readers) of being written

¹ Budde's *Religion of Israel to the Exile* (1899) and Cheyne's companion volume, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (1898), though not exactly recent, are admirable examples of modern critical-constructive work in English.

in French. The same author, it may be added, has published a book on the theology of the Old Testament (*Théologie de l'Ancien Testament*), which has been translated into English by Professor H. G. Mitchell of Boston. Another important volume, for the later period, is Schlatter's *Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Hadrian* (second edition 1908). This is a very interesting and stimulating book which has the great merit of making large and constant use of the Rabbinic literature. It may be read, with great advantage, side by side with Schürer's great work.

English students are familiar, in its translated form, with Kittel's massive *History of the Hebrews* (2 vols. 1895). Upon the cautious critical position there taken up Kittel in the new edition (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1912) has made some notable advances. He has been influenced by the work of such scholars as Staerk, Steuernagel, Gunkel and Gressmann. One of his most notable changes is with reference to the date of P (to which some reference is made below). His attitude is, however, still conservative on the whole (*e.g.* he still defends the Mosaic character of the Decalogue).

¶ In the sections that follow an attempt will be made to illustrate the character and tendencies which are prominent in recent Old Testament study. The books commented on are, necessarily, only a selection from a large literature. But the selection is, it is hoped, sufficiently representative. It includes recent works on Introduction, textual criticism, Pentateuchal criticism, the criticism and interpretation of the Prophetic and other Literature, and the Religion. Lack of space forbids any extended reference to the significant revival of interest in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.

II

The beginning of the year 1914 was marked by the loss to scholarship of Samuel Rolles Driver, who was, by common consent, the greatest English Hebraist of his generation. Practically the last literary work on which Dr. Driver was

able to engage, before his lamented death, was devoted to the issue, in their present form, of the books numbered (1) and (2) above, which were first published in 1890 and 1891 respectively. They embody and express to perfection the characteristic features that distinguish Driver's contributions to the scientific study of the Old Testament—the massive learning, the exquisite scholarship, the ripe judgment, and the cautious but courageous and faithful leadership which won for their possessor his unique influence. No scholar has gained or deserved more implicit confidence both from fellow-workers and from the wider world outside.

The *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, though enlarged by more than 100 pages in its second edition, retains the features which have given the volume a place by itself among text-books. The splendid introduction contains the well-known account of the history and development of the Hebrew alphabet, in a somewhat amplified form, as well as the exposition of the characteristic features of the ancient versions. These are illustrated in detail by classified lists of concrete examples. The commentary proper besides a wealth of original notes on the idioms and grammatical niceties of the Hebrew language—a department where Driver was unsurpassed—forms an introduction to the science of textual criticism in which the author's characteristic caution is admirably exemplified. In the new edition these elements have been enriched by a series of valuable notes on the topography. Here again Driver's caution comes into play with excellent effect. It is safe to say that after his careful and searching discussions many sites which were confidently accepted will be recognized as doubtful. Another striking feature in the new edition is the series of fine maps which have been added. Altogether this edition affords a real enrichment of a text-book which may be regarded as the finest introduction to the study of Hebrew written either in English or in any other language.

In the recently issued ninth edition of his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* we have the work of the scholar addressing a larger audience. This must be one of the most successful books of its kind that have ever

appeared. The number of editions and reprints through which it has passed is extraordinary. It has without doubt been the most influential factor at work in settling average educated opinion in regard to the Old Testament in the English-speaking world during recent years. The writer of this article well remembers the attitude of eager expectancy with which the first appearance of the book was awaited. It proved at once a triumphant success, passing through no fewer than four editions in less than a year (September 1891 to August 1892).

The last edition, which was only issued quite recently (1913), is substantially the same book that appeared in 1891. Some corrections in detail and expansions have, of course, been made from time to time, in order to bring the work up to date.¹ But the author did not find it necessary to modify, to any serious extent, the positions he originally took up. Thus take the following paragraph concerning the date of 'P' (the Priests' Code), which appears in the latest (p. 142 f.) exactly as it stood in the earliest edition :

'These arguments [relating to the general character and contents of P] are cogent, and combine to make it probable that the *completed* Priests' Code is the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel. When, however, this is said, it is very far from being implied that all the institutions of P are the *creation* of this age. The contradiction of the pre-exilic literature does not extend to the *whole* of the Priests' Code indiscriminately. The Priests' Code embodies some elements with which the earlier literature is in harmony, and which indeed it presupposes: it embodies other elements with which the same literature is in conflict, and the existence of which it even seems to preclude. This double aspect of the Priests' Code is reconciled by the supposition that the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel are in *their origin* of great antiquity; but that the laws respecting them were gradually developed and elaborated, and *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priests' Code* that they belong to the exilic or early post-exilic period. In the main stock the legislation of P was not (as the critical view of it is some-

¹ The most extensive revision took place in the 6th edition, for which the type was re-set. Some extensive additions were also made in later editions.

times represented by its opponents as teaching) "manufactured" by the priests during the Exile: it is based *upon pre-existing Temple usage*, and exhibits the form which that finally assumed. Hebrew legislation took shape gradually; and the codes of J E (Ex. 20-23; 34¹⁰⁻²⁶), Dt, and P represent three successive phases of it. From this point of view, the allusions to priestly usage in the pre-exilic literature may be consistently explained. They attest the existence of certain institutions: they do not attest the existence of the particular document (P) in which the regulations touching those institutions are now codified.'

It is significant that so conservative a scholar as Kittel, who formerly maintained an early pre-Exilic date for P, has in the recently (1912) completed second edition of his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* come over to the position advocated by Driver. He says (vol. ii. p. 525):

'P belongs as a whole, *i.e.* in its main redaction, to the exilic and post-exilic age. So also in a considerable number of particular passages. This is the abiding result of Graf's hypothesis, and of its establishment upon a new and broader basis by Wellhausen.'

It must not, of course, be supposed that Driver was oblivious of work done by scholars who opposed the critical positions taken up by himself. He constantly refers to, or indicates the lines of, such criticism; and he by no means ignores the attacks of the frankly anti-critical school. He has dealt very fully and trenchantly¹ with the onslaughts headed by Professor Sayce under the banner of 'archaeology'; and in the 'Addenda' prefixed to the present edition, he devotes some eight closely printed pages to replying to the latest phase of the anti-critical attack. This has been concentrated on questions of textual criticism, and in particular on the textual tradition of the Divine Names in the Pentateuch. It is well known that two principal Names are employed in the Hebrew text for 'God,' viz. *Elohim* which means 'God,' and *Jahveh* (Jehovah), which is the personal Name of the God of Israel, who to the

¹ Especially in the preface to the eighth edition, reprinted in the present volume (and more fully elsewhere).

Hebrew monotheist was also the God of the Universe. Now it is quite true that Pentateuchal criticism, in its most rudimentary stage, began with the observation by the French physician Astruc (published in an anonymous volume in 1753) that the Names Jahveh and Elohim alternate in such a way in Genesis as to suggest the existence of distinct sources—a source which uses the Divine Name Jahveh, and one which uses Elohim. On this basis the criticism of the Pentateuch was developed, and in its most commonly accepted form, at the present time, the documentary theory of the composition of the Pentateuch (or rather the Hexateuch, the Book of Joshua being included) distinguishes a J document (= the Jahvist), an Elohist document parallel to this (= the Elohist), a Priestly document (= P), and the original form of Deuteronomy (= D). Now it should be noted that in the developed form of the critical theory the use of the Divine Names is by no means the sole or even the principal distinguishing characteristic of the division of the documents. P uses Elohim equally with E, while the distinctiveness of D is determined entirely by other considerations. In fact other considerations—such as peculiarity of phraseology, mode of representation, the existence of duplicate accounts, and so on—have come to constitute the most important factors in the critical case. No doubt in the distinction of J from E the criterion of the use of the Divine Names is still important for the critical analysis. And it is just here, in particular cases, that this is least certain. But it would make very little difference to the main positions of the critical theory if JE were treated as one source, as in fact is often done. The broad distinction between JE on the one hand, and D and P on the other, would still remain. Nevertheless the anti-critical school has recently been making great efforts to discredit the critical analysis of the Hexateuch by seeking to shew that the Hebrew (Masoretic) text cannot be trusted in its evidence for the use of the Divine Names. The most important work of this kind which has appeared is that of Dahse, a German scholar who has specialized in Septuagint studies. In his *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage* vol. i.

(1912), numbered (6) above, Dahse examines the evidence of the LXX as to the Names of God in Genesis (also of Jacob and Israel), and as the result of his investigation declares that 'the Divine Names have nothing to do with this or that document, but are variable elements in the text.' The facts on which this estimate is based may be stated in Driver's words summarily as follows :

' In the standard text of the LXX of Genesis (Swete's edition), in about 50 passages—or (Skinner, *Expositor*, September 1913, p. 272) in about 60 passages¹—out of some 320 occurrences altogether, and in isolated MSS or groups of MSS of the LXX in many other passages, with support in some cases from other ancient Versions, and in some cases also from a small number of Hebrew MSS, a different Divine name is found from that given in the existing Hebrew text. These variants in the LXX and other ancient Versions presuppose, it is argued, corresponding variants in the ancient Hebrew MSS from which the ancient Versions were made,—MSS older by many centuries than the oldest existing MSS of the Hebrew text ; they are supported in some cases by Hebrew MSS : and the facts, taken altogether, it is alleged, render the Masoretic text so uncertain that no presumption of authorship can be built upon the varying use of the Divine names in it.'

Driver's criticism of this position, reinforced by a series of brilliant articles by Dr. Skinner which appeared in *The Expositor* (April–September 1913), and have now been published in book-form (No. 7 above),² may be stated

¹ About one hundred are cited in Dahse's list.

² Mr. D. C. Simpson's book on *Pentateuchal Criticism* (No. 8 above) must also be referred to in this connexion. It forms an admirably fresh re-statement of the critical position as against the attacks of Dahse and others. The subject is treated under the following heads : ' The meaning of criticism ' (ch. I.), ' The history of Pentateuchal Criticism ' (II.), ' The Priestly Source ' (III.), ' The Sources J and E ' (IV.), ' Deuteronomy ' (V.), ' The Pentateuch in the light of Hebrew History and in relation to the Elephantine Papyri ' (VI.), ' The Divine Purpose in Hebrew Religion ' (VII.), with an Appendix on ' The Names of God in the Pentateuch.' The book, which was seen in proof by Dr. Driver, won his warm approval and is appropriately dedicated to his memory. In Driver's words,

briefly as follows: 'The argument attaches a very exaggerated value to the variants in the LXX and other ancient versions.' These may be due to the errors of copyists, or to loose and paraphrastic rendering; and, further, the Hebrew text underlying the LXX *as a whole* is inferior to the Masoretic. In particular passages where, from internal evidence, there is reason to suspect corruption in the traditional Hebrew text, help can sometimes—though by no means always—be derived from the versions, where, in isolated cases, a reading superior to that of the Masoretic text may be preserved. Driver has exemplified the application of these principles of textual criticism in brilliant fashion in his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, already referred to, and has every right to insist on their necessity and adequacy. In the case of variants in the textual transmission of the Divine Names he further points out that

'by the substitution of one Divine name for another . . . grammar is never affected, and suitability to the context is hardly ever affected: hence except in a *very* few cases, quite insufficient to invalidate the general trustworthiness of the Mass. text, it is impossible to admit that in the variants adduced . . . there are any sufficient reasons for holding that they cast doubt upon the readings of the Mass. text.'

The case for the general trustworthiness of the Masoretic text is enormously strengthened by the testimony of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has maintained an independent existence since about 330 B.C., according to Dr. Skinner. This text while 'agreeing with the Mas. text in Genesis, in its use of the Divine names, over 300 times, differs from it in the same names only nine times.' As Dr. Skinner remarks:

'It would really be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this fact. It means that through two independent lines of

'It gives a lucid and helpful outline of the principles, history, and chief results of the higher criticism of the Pentateuch with an answer to some objections which have been recently brought forward against it.' As such it deserves a warm welcome from Biblical students generally.

descent (each going back to at least B.C. 300), the Divine names in Genesis have been transmitted with practically no variation. . . . It is surely well within the mark to say that the Samaritan recension as a whole is on the side of the Mass. text, and immensely strengthens its claim to our confidence.'

Dahse is a real scholar; his work must be treated seriously, and cannot lightly be dismissed. A painstaking student, he has devoted years of unremitting labour to the study of the LXX, and is probably the greatest authority on the subject living. While it is impossible not to feel that he is sometimes arbitrary and unconvincing in his treatment of textual problems—*e.g.* in his attempt, on the basis of the LXX, to eliminate from Exodus vi 7, and five out of the six passages in Genesis where it occurs, the Divine name rendered 'God Almighty' ('*El Shaddai*')¹—Dahse has undoubtedly made it impossible to ignore the existence of a real textual problem. This is admitted by Dr. Skinner himself who says,² at the conclusion of his careful survey of Dahse's positions:

'While I still believe that the documentary theory of the Pentateuch is in its essential elements unassailable by textual criticism, and hold that even its traditional textual basis has not been seriously unsettled, I am far from thinking that the last word has been said about the problem of the LXX and its bearing on the history of the Hebrew text. Dahse's work has made it impossible for critics to treat that problem lightly, and has set a high standard of accuracy and thoroughness to those who shall attempt it.'

It must be pointed out that even if Dahse should ultimately succeed in seriously discrediting the claims of the traditional Hebrew text, it would be necessary to have a reconstructed text before us of sufficient authority to bear the weight placed upon it of some positive alternative

¹ The LXX uniformly represents this by *my*, *thy*, or *their God*. Dahse, therefore, thinks that in these passages the Hebrew underlying the LXX corresponds to the LXX rendering, except in Gen. xlix. 25, where he inconsistently keeps '*El Shaddai*' though it is there rendered by the LXX, as elsewhere, *my God*.

² *The Expositor*, September 1913, p. 288.

theory as to the origin and structure of the Pentateuch. To achieve such a result would be a task of enormous difficulty and complexity. Yet something of this sort, it would seem, is what Dahse contemplates. He has already contributed a highly ingenious and interesting theory which seeks to account for the distribution of the names of God by an attempt to trace the variations 'through successive redactions of the text based upon the divisions of the Law in the lectionary of the Synagogue.' It is well known that for the purposes of the liturgical Sabbath-reading of the Law in the synagogues the text was divided into sections according to two systems. The earlier (Palestinian) system divided it into 154 sections, called 'sedarim,' and was intended to cover a period of three (or three and a half) years; the later (Babylonian) system contemplated a reading of the Law in one year, and divided the text into 54 longer sections, called 'parashas.' Only the latter system is marked in the traditional Hebrew text.¹ Dahse thinks that there was a systematic redaction of the Divine Names *Elohim* and *Jahveh* in connexion with the 'sedarim.' In his opinion, to quote his own words ²:

'Much of the matter in Genesis which is at present called P stands at the beginning or end of the old Sedarim, the pericopes into which, for the purpose of public reading in the service, the old book was divided up, and the repetitions, recapitulations etc., in these passages are explained by the fact that they are the chapter headings of the old Sedarim like those that are to be found in German and English Bibles. I have called this "Liturgical Addition," and attribute it to Ezra. That is my pericope-hypothesis proper, and my conception of the use of the Divine Names only forms a part of it.'

A notable convert to the substantial truth of this particular hypothesis is, apparently, Dr. E. Sellin, who

¹ The three years' cycle seems to have prevailed in Palestine till the exiles from Spain introduced their customs into the Holy Land. The Masoretic colophons at the end of each of the five books indicate the number of sedarim.

² *The Expositor*, December 1913, p. 507.

finds support for it in Neh. viii 8.¹ What, then, in broad outline is the hypothesis that Dahse hopes to be able to set up as an alternative to the prevailing critical theory? The answer may be given in his own words:

‘ Though I deny (he says) the correctness of that hypothesis of parallel documents as sources of the Pentateuch, yet I believe in different strata in it. . . . For my conception is that from Israel’s earliest times there existed a holy book which later has undergone revisions in the time of the Prophets, in the time of the introduction of lessons into public service, and finally in the time of the Sopherim to adapt it to the changed circumstances.’

He adds :

‘ In the next few years, I hope to be able to put forward the evidence for my view as a whole in a collected form.’

Till that has been done it is impossible to test the theory in any adequate way. The writer of this article cannot help thinking that there is much in Dahse’s contentions that is valuable, especially in the hypothesis of liturgical influence ; but it seems likely that the critical view will be able to assimilate whatever elements of truth there may be in Dahse’s views, and to adjust itself to the requirements of a more thorough textual criticism, without giving up any of its essential positions. Meanwhile, till Dahse’s completed case is stated, and, *in this form*, has itself passed through the fires of criticism, the ‘critical’ hypothesis holds the field.

Since the above was written Dr. Skinner has republished his *Expositor* articles in book form (*The Divine Names in Genesis*, No. 7 above). In this form two important chapters have been added, one on ‘The Problem of the Priestly Code,’ and another entitled ‘Last Words with Dahse.’² In the former of these (ch. vii) Dr. Skinner subjects the ‘perikope-hypothesis’ to a searching examination and criticism, and though he shews clearly its untenability

¹ Dr. Sellin, however, maintains that the essentials of the critical theory are unaffected by Dahse’s arguments.

² A number of valuable tables and additional notes have also been appended.

as an alternative to the documentary hypothesis, he yet allows that Dahse has brought some interesting facts to light, which require explanation. He says (p. 232 f.) :

‘ While the facts are insufficient to bear out Dahse’s hypothesis, it would appear that the number of coincidences between the P-sections and the Seder-divisions is greater than can be accounted for by the doctrine of chances. In mere bulk about one-seventh of the text of Genesis xii-1 belongs to P, whereas a P-passage opens or closes about two Sedarim out of five. This fact calls for attention, and it is Dahse’s merit to have forced it to the front. Now it is abundantly clear for one thing that in the great majority of cases the Seder-division marks a new start in the narrative. This is perfectly manifest, *e.g.*, at the beginning of chap. xii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvii, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, xlviii, xlix, also at xxv 19, xxviii 10, xxxii 4, xxxv 9, and perhaps some other places. It will be found that with perhaps two exceptions (xxx 22, xxxiii 18) all the Sedarim introduced or closed by P belong to this class ; on the other hand divisions which violently interrupt the narrative (such as xxiv 42, xxvii 28, xxxi 3, xli 38, xliii 14) are *never* marked by P. Let us suppose, then, that the arrangement of the lectionary is much later than the final redaction of the Pentateuch : the only fact that remains to be explained is the frequent occurrence of P-sections at pauses in the narrative. But that is surely the most natural thing in the world. The redactor who so skilfully dovetailed P into the connexion of JE naturally looked for the interstices of the old narratives as the places where he could most suitably insert the bulk of the new material (see especially chap. xvii, xxiii, xxv 7 ff., xxvi 34 ff., xxvii 46—xxviii 9, xxxv 9-13, xxxvi, xxxvii 1 ff., xlvii 6-27, xlix 1a and 28b-33). And not less naturally the framers of the lectionary frequently selected these same points as the places where a reading might in most cases fittingly close, just as nearly half of the modern chapter-divisions coincide with the divisions of the old Jewish lectionary. The correspondence (such as it is) is amply accounted for by the two processes being guided by parallel aims, and we can understand how the authors of the Sedarim-division would find so often a suitable ending—sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the close, and sometimes in the middle of a section from P. That seems to me a much more probable and adequate solution than Dahse’s of a problem to which he has rightly called attention.’

That Ezra can be credited with the formation of the three-year lectionary, as Dahse with the help of Sellin suggests,¹ is indeed highly improbable, as Dr. Skinner insists.

A scholar of a very different calibre from Dahse with whom Dr. Skinner has occasion to deal in his book is Mr. Harold M. Wiener, who has published several volumes dealing largely with the textual criticism of the Pentateuch.² He seems to be obsessed with the idea that the received (Masoretic) Hebrew text is essentially unsound, and that the LXX represents a much better textual tradition. It may be remarked, in passing, that in seeking to discredit the Masoretic text Mr. Wiener is rendering but doubtful service to the 'conservative' position. Dr. Skinner (*op. cit.* pp. 276 ff.) criticizes his methods very effectively. He points out that 'the mistakes which vitiate his criticism are (1) that he makes too little allowance for the licence natural to the work of translation, and freely employed by the LXX, such as non-literal rendering, substitution of synonyms, accommodation to Greek idiom, adjustment of forms and expressions to the context, explanatory additions, and so on, but tends in all cases to assume a divergent Hebrew; and (2) that he has not recognized the necessity of shewing that this Hebrew is intrinsically superior to that of the Masoretic text and the Samaritan before his main argument can be sustained.' It may be added that he sometimes makes an indiscriminate use of LXX variant readings, often with the slightest MS support, and occasionally himself resorts to textual emendation which is extremely unconvincing.³ His work is laborious, painstaking, and often ingenious, but is marred by a controversial spirit

¹ On the basis of Neh. viii 8, which Sellin renders: *And they read out of the book of the Law of God in sections and with explanations, so that they understood what was read.* This highly doubtful exegesis is described by Sellin as an 'almost staggering argument' for the truth of the perikope-hypothesis.

² *The Origin of the Pentateuch*; also *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* and *Pentateuchal Studies*, etc.

³ See an instance in *Pentateuchal Studies*, p. 46 f., where, in Gen. xxxvii 28, he gets rid of 'Midianites men' by conjecturing that it is a corruption of 'Ishmaelites,' the reading of one LXX variant.

which suggests the temper of the passionate advocate rather than that of the sober scholar seeking for scientific truth. A most regrettable feature is the licence he allows himself in personal invective, not hesitating to charge such scholars as Skinner, Briggs and Driver with 'the deliberate misrepresentation of facts.' Such methods can only damage his own cause. It is to be hoped that he will accept the advice of Dr. Skinner, who says :

'If he would improve his methods, and exercise greater circumspection, I do not doubt that he will succeed in finding cases where the LXX represents a Hebrew superior to either MT (the Masoretic Text) or Sam. (the Samaritan), or both combined. His general theory is not *proved*, nor do I accept it, but I still admit that it "has a claim to consideration."'¹

III

If in this place some reference may fittingly be made to Dr. Driver's work generally, the note of indiscriminate eulogy ought to be avoided. His services not only to Biblical scholarship, but to the cause of sound religion, have been immense. The quality of his work, within its own limits, was almost perfect. But he was greater in pure scholarship than in criticism. His mind was essentially objective and scientific, proceeding by a rigidly inductive method, and moving within the sphere of ascertained facts and data. He did not himself propound bold critical hypotheses or reconstructions, but could bring to the criticism of such an unrivalled equipment of solid scholarship and massive learning. He moved cautiously and slowly to new positions, but, once having satisfied himself of the cogency of the arguments, nobody could marshal them more effectively or expound them more lucidly and convincingly. This very caution, though in some senses a limitation, brought with it very great compensations. If he did not possess the subtlety of a Cheyne, the massive critical power of a Wellhausen, the intuitive genius of a

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 281.

Gunkel, or the brilliance of a Duhm, he was equipped with a judgement that made him trusted far and wide. In the realm of philology, as a pure Hebraist, his profound knowledge and feeling for the niceties of the language made him an acknowledged master.¹

We part with Driver's last literary work with a profound sense of loss. His scholarship possessed a distinction of which England may well be proud. It was peculiarly English—not learned in Germany, though Driver assimilated the best German work; in a sense it may be said to reflect the best elements of the Oxford spirit—lucidity, refinement, thoroughness, and fine judgement.

Nor will the services he rendered to religion be quickly forgotten. As a Jewish scholar, Dr. Israel Abrahams, has said²:

‘When he began his work in 1871—at the age of twenty-five—many forces were at work undermining confidence in the authenticity of the Bible. On the one side were ranged the ever-increasing host of those who, in consequence of scientific and historical arguments, were treating the Bible as discredited and obsolete. Opposed to them were arrayed those who sought to defend the Bible by disputing the results of science and history. Between the wolf and the shepherd the lamb was being torn to pieces. Driver, and others of his school, delivered the endangered victim from arrogant foes and imprudent friends. He taught the faithful criticism, and the critics faith.’

IV

The volume numbered (3) above is an admirable example of a popular treatment of a complicated theme. It is the work of one of Driver's most distinguished pupils. Within the space of some 248 pages, Dr. Gray sums up the problems of Introduction which arise in connexion with the Books of the Old Testament. The treatment, though necessarily brief, is thorough, and, needless to say, rests upon a basis of solid scholarship. Its grasp, caution, and

¹ The articles which he contributed to the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon* on Hebrew particles and prepositions are supreme examples of this. The treatment is not only thorough but largely new.

² *The Jewish Chronicle*, March 5, 1914.

judicial tone remind one of Driver at his best. The English student innocent of Hebrew is here put in touch with the salient aspects of Old Testament criticism, and will gain from a study of the book a true and balanced picture of the present position of critical discussion. It is no mere compilation but the reasoned statement of a ripe and thorough scholar.

Steuernagel's volume (5), embracing no less than 835 pages, of which 770 are devoted to the Old Testament, the rest being given to the Apocrypha, belongs to the same series which includes such classics as Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* and Smend's *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*. It is a monumental work, well worthy of its place in the series to which it belongs, and will certainly rank as the standard *Introduction* to the Old Testament from the generally accepted critical standpoint.

It is arranged on much the same lines as Cornill's *Einleitung*.¹ There are first Prolegomena dealing with such subjects as the text and Canon, the literary forms and metre; and then follow the detailed introductions to the individual books. A striking feature in the latter is the large amount of space devoted to the detailed analysis of the contents of each book. This makes the discussion of the critical problems much more real and vital to the student. Steuernagel's position on some of the more burning critical questions is moderate and cautious. Thus he is very reserved on the question of textual emendation for metrical reasons (so also Gray), and refuses to follow Duhm and Marti (and among English scholars Kennett) in assigning much of the prophetic literature to so late a date as the Second century B.C. Steuernagel does not confine himself in his treatment to purely critical questions. The larger problems that arise are brought into due perspective. Thus before the discussion in detail of the prophetic books there is a long and valuable preliminary dissertation on the prophets and prophetic literature in general, dealing with such subjects as the prophets' claim

¹ Translated into English under the title *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament* (Williams and Norgate. 1907).

to be the organ of revelation, their inspiration, the mode and characteristic features of their activity, the origin and composition of the prophetic books, and the historical relation of these to the prophets themselves, the authenticity or otherwise of the Messianic passages, the dating of particular passages, and the relation of prophecy to apocalyptic.¹

The prophetic books are regarded as having originated only partly from the prophets whose names they bear. In their present form they have been compiled by editors. An interesting evidence of this is found in the fact that the prophetic discourses are written partly in the first person (*e.g.* Amos vii 1 ff., Hosea iii, Isaiah vi, Jer. i, xiii, xxiv etc., and Ezekiel throughout), partly as passages in which the prophet is referred to in the third person (*e.g.* Amos vii 10 ff., Hos. i, Isaiah vii 1 ff., xxxvi-xxxix, Jer. xxvi, xxxvi f. etc.). The former probably come direct from the prophet, the latter are the work of editors. Some of the material may have been composed by the disciples or friends of the prophet. In their present form the books are the work of compilers, who are responsible for the order and arrangement generally. Even Ezekiel, which is wholly the composition of the prophet, owes its present arrangement to an editor. The material which goes back to the prophets themselves probably existed originally in the form of detached notes. The books grew by a process of combination (detached pieces put together), glossing, addition of parallel material, re-arrangement etc. A good instance is afforded by the comparison of the Hebrew text of Jeremiah with that of the Septuagint. The books were also edited so as to adapt them to the needs of later readers. Thus the oracles of Amos and Hosea were subjected to a Judæan revision—an oracle, originally directed against Sidon, was altered so as to make it one against Tyre (Is. xxiii), the prophecies of doom were supplemented by consolatory passages promising deliverance and happiness, and finally, extracts from historical sources were sometimes added (Is. xxxvi-xxxix, Jer. xxxix, lii). Different

¹ Pp. 457-472.

recensions of the books may have been in existence, which were afterwards combined or adjusted, resulting in a compromise. Thus the literary history is exceedingly complicated, but the books had reached their present form by the Third century B.C.¹

An interesting application of Steuernagel's criterion of the first and third personal mode of address is its application to Hos. i-iii. He regards these as parallel accounts of the same event—the prophet's marriage to Gomer, ch. iii (in the first person) being the prophet's own account, and ch. i (in the third person) being an editor's. In this particular case some formidable difficulties are solved by the hypothesis.

A very useful series of suggested tests for determining questions of authenticity is given on p. 467. Thus (*a*) unless it can be shewn that the prophet was himself responsible for the arrangement of a particular passage or passages, it is precarious to assume that want of logical connexion is an argument against the original character of such. This lack of cohesion may have been present from the very first, and may be due to the original editor who combined together fragments. And (*b*) the prophets may, in the course of a long active life, have changed their views on certain points. Hence apparent contradictions or inconsistencies must not always be pressed. The real solution may lie in a truer idea of the prophet's development. The prophets (*c*) are children of their time; utterances which can only be explained by the historical circumstances of another age (this includes theological development) must be unauthentic. Further (*d*) the application of the laws of a strict metrical scheme to determine what is primary, and what secondary, or as a criterion of authenticity, has no sufficient justification in facts. Again (*e*) subjective criteria depending upon a critic's feeling as to what a prophet could or could not have written should be kept within rigid bounds. And, finally, (*f*) the amount of editorial work must not be exaggerated.

On the Isaianic character of such passages as Is. iv 2-6,

¹ Marti, on the other hand, assigns about one-third of Is. i-xxxix to the Second century B.C. !

ix 1-6, xi 1-9 Steuernagel takes up a moderate position. He even argues for the essential unity of Ecclesiastes.

The scale of the treatment may be gauged from the fact that the detailed introduction to Isaiah occupies no less than 58 pages. The book is characterized by massive learning, by its breadth of treatment, and sobriety of critical judgement. It forms a splendid contribution to Biblical learning.

Sellin's little volumes (4) (a) (b) are highly significant. They mark, perhaps, the highest point of the conservative reaction in criticism against the vagaries of the extreme radical wing. The *Einleitung* owes not a little of its popularity¹ to its charm of style, as well as to its brilliance of suggestion and critical independence. It is, indeed, remarkable how well these qualities are combined in such restricted space (153 pages in the first edition, increased to 168 in the second). Lack of space has certainly hampered the author to some extent. He has been unable to develop his positions at length where we should have most wished him to do so, though he has to some measure done so in his reply to Cornill's fierce attack (4) (b).

Sellin's positions are often startlingly conservative (especially in the first edition), though he is able to defend them with critical weapons. Thus he maintains the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant. The Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) he dates from the time of Ahab—it comes probably from a pupil of Elijah.² The Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii) is from the period of the Judges. J is the product of a single writer who lived at the Judæan court in the time of David and Solomon. E emanates from Shechem in the second half of Solomon's reign. Deuteronomy is older than the reign of Manasseh; in its original form it is the law on which Hezekiah's reform was based. P's narrative in Genesis is old—older, perhaps, than J and E; the legislative part is also old, though with

¹ The 3000 copies of the first edition were exhausted in three years (1910-13).

² Driver assigns it to the age of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It is 'steeped from end to end in reminiscences of the older prophets.'

a mixture of later elements. The anti-monarchical source in Samuel is older than Hosea.

In the prophetic books the epilogues of Amos and Hosea, with their bright picture of a happy future, are regarded as genuine. Micah iv and v (as well as i-iii) are regarded as authentic. Zechariah ix-xi is dated between the years 734 and 721 B.C.; xii and xiii are from the age of Jeremiah; only xiv is post-Exilic. The ascription of any part of the prophetic literature to Maccabean times is summarily dismissed. Even the Psalms usually regarded as Maccabean (xliv, lxxiv, lxxix, lxxxiii) may reflect a Jewish catastrophe in the Fourth century B.C. The so-called Davidic collections in the Psalter (iii-xli, l-lxxii) are, as a whole, pre-Exilic (though with an admixture of later elements). Ps. xviii is certainly Davidic, and there may be other Davidic psalms also.

It is not surprising that such positions called forth strong criticism. This was forcibly—even bitterly—expressed in a brochure by Cornill, to which Sellin has replied. In this reply (4) (b) he has developed some of his positions at length, for which students will be grateful.

In the second edition of the *Einleitung* the influence of such important books as Steuernagel's and Dahse's (noticed above) and Gressmann's *Mose und seine Zeit* (referred to below) is apparent. Many statements have been modified or toned down, and some important new matter is added. In the discussion of the Decalogue Klostermann's brilliant emendation of Hos. vi 5 is recalled: (read *b'ābānīm* for *ba-nebi'īm*) 'I have hewed it *in stones*, I have taught them by the words of my mouth.' A highly important chapter on the origin of the Pentateuch has been added, in which the operation of liturgical influence is recognized. How is the presence of distinct strata, which are largely parallel in content, to be explained in the Pentateuch? In their complete form the later of these sources must have been designed to supersede the earlier. Why was it they did not succeed? The purely literary results fail to solve the problem. The answer lies in the view that whereas the later and more edifying redaction superseded the earlier

in public worship, the latter maintained its existence in private circles for devotional purposes : such devotional meetings may have been conducted by prophets on new moon and Sabbath. This is a very attractive suggestion and is a brilliant application of the 'liturgical' factor pointed out by Dahse. Liturgical influence will explain many phenomena that occur not only in the Pentateuch but in Joshua and the early historical books. But Sellin refuses to follow Dahse in repudiating the documentary hypothesis.

Gressmann's volume on 'Moses and his Time' (10) fittingly opens a new series of *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* under the general editorship of Bousset and Gunkel. The book consists of four parts, the first of which, covering 244 pages, contains a careful analysis of the narratives concerning Moses (the codes of law attributed to him being excluded). The rise and development of each story is carefully traced, the results of the literary analysis being assumed. The stories or sagas are estimated in the light of tradition and comparative mythology. For instance, sagas are fairly common which have for their theme the exposure of a child for the purpose of averting some evil fate or doom which is to be brought upon the ruler by the newly-born. Some form of such a story may have circulated in Egypt, and have been adopted and modified to suit the early history of Moses. The other stories are investigated on similar lines. The results as regards literature in general, the history of Israel and the history of religion are set forth in the other three parts. In the field of history proper Gressmann's conclusions are especially interesting. The Hebrews, of Aramaean descent, in the Fourteenth century conquered the Negeb and southern border of Canaan, and settled there. Under the stress of famine a part of them moved later to Goshen, where they remained for about half a century. Then followed the exodus from Egypt under the leadership of Moses. Overtaken at the gulf of Akaba by the Egyptian army they were delivered from destruction by means of a volcanic eruption at Sinai which was followed by a tidal wave. Henceforth they were allied by bonds of grateful affection to Jahveh.

At Kadesh, where they rejoined their brethren who had not gone down to Egypt, Moses knit the clans together and started an Israelitish movement. Some of the clans invaded Judah from the south, but the majority marched round Edom and across Moab into Palestine. The exodus is placed at about 1260 B.C., and the beginnings of the occupation of Palestine about thirty years later. The historical character of Moses is insisted upon. He really did deliver his people from Egypt, gave them as their national God Jahveh, originated the Decalogue of Exodus xx, bound the tribes together, both religiously and socially, and laid the basis for future political and social development.

Gressmann's treatment invests the old narratives with much fresh interest and life, and is an important contribution on the lines laid down by Gunkel. It will be seen that his results are decidedly positive in character.

A most important contribution not only to exegesis, but also to the reconstruction of the history of the early post-Exilic period, is made in Batten's *Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (11). This is a thorough and conscientious piece of work. Very early in the studies necessitated by the preparation of his commentary Professor Batten realized that the task before him was 'unexpectedly big.' He discovered that 'Ezra-Nehemiah bristled with hard problems that had not really been solved.' The results of his painstaking investigation are most interesting, and are 'decidedly conservative.' As genuine parts of Nehemiah's memoirs he assigns Neh. i 1-4, i 11b-ii 7, ii 8b-20, iii 33-vii 5a, xiii 6-31. Ezra's historicity is maintained as against Torrey, who regards the whole Ezra story, and Ezra himself, as a fiction of the Chronicler. Consequently for Torrey the Ezra memoirs (Ezra vii 27-viii 34 and ix 1-15) do not exist. On this position, Batten says:

'Torrey's arguments have failed to convince those who have been diligent students of the story of Ezra, and with all regard to his undoubted scholarship and industry, I find myself among the number who must still take the Ezra story seriously.' ¹

¹ P. 18.

The Chronicler's part in these books is thus described :

' The real work of the Chronicler in these books consists . . . of editing and compiling. There is not a great deal which can be proved to come from his pen ; and yet there is very little that he has not retouched according to his own ideas. The work of compilation was badly done, but fortunately there is enough guidance for the revision of the Chronicler's blundering work, and for bringing the various parts into their right relations.' ¹

Kosters' arguments against the historicity of any return from Exile until the time of Ezra are carefully examined, and rejected. There was a real decree of Cyrus, and a return, only the number of the exiles who came back was not 40,000, but at most a few hundreds.

' Yet Kosters has done a real service in forcing the students of the Bible to take a truer view of post-exilic Israel. The men who restored Jerusalem were not wholly nor even chiefly those who had been born on foreign soil. The depopulation of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar was no more complete than that of Samaria by Sargon. Thousands of the leading citizens had been carried away in the two great deportations of 597 and 586 B.C. But more thousands were left, enough to form a sort of state under Gedaliah ' (Jer. xl-xliv).

' The people who came in from the Judæan towns to help Nehemiah build the walls, and doubtless the same class who were the chief helpers of Zerubbabel and Joshua in building the Temple, were mainly those who had been born and reared on the soil of the God of their fathers. The real problem of this period is the apparent paucity of numbers of the returned exiles.' ²

Batten rightly insists that textual corruption has complicated the historical problems, as well as the dislocations due to the Chronicler. ' I myself,' he says, ' worked for years on the supposition that there was an early and fruitless effort to rebuild the Temple. But the discovery of the true text of Ezra iii compelled a radical change of opinion.' He adds :

' The discovery of these corruptions, and in many places the

¹ P. 24.

² P. 36 f.

recovery of the true text, has another important consequence. It proves beyond a doubt that there are original sources where previously a passage has been assigned wholly to the Chronicler.¹

The hostility of the Samaritans is placed not earlier than the reign of Artaxerxes. It was political, not religious. 'The Temple would not interfere with the political supremacy of the north. But the building of the walls was another matter. Once let Jerusalem be made impregnable again, as it had been in the days of old, and the balance of power would be almost certain to move from the north to the south.'

Perhaps the most important of Batten's results is the dating of Ezra's mission, which is placed after Nehemiah. He would place Ezra's activity in the first quarter of the Fourth century B.C. The two men were, on this view, not contemporaries.

'It is true that the editor of the books [of Ezra and Nehemiah] thought otherwise. His placing of Ezra vii-x before Neh. i shews that the Artaxerxes who authorized Ezra's administration was, in his view, the same as the Artaxerxes who appointed Nehemiah to be governor of Judah, and his placing of the promulgation of the law by Ezra (Neh. viii 1-12) in the midst of Nehemiah's rule shews his belief that they were contemporaries.'

But it would be strange if Artaxerxes sent to Judaea at the same time two men clothed with the same powers. Why, if Ezra was so prominent a figure at this time in Jerusalem, is there no genuine reference to him in Nehemiah? Nehemiah's reforms (*cf.* Neh. xiii) would be strange after Ezra, but very natural before his time. Ezra's real mission was 'to glorify the house of God which is in Jerusalem,' and there is no reason to suppose that his connexion with the law was anything but 'slight and incidental.'

'If Ezra had anything to do with the establishment of the law—and our sources for this event are really scanty and poor—this part of his work would have come about only as the conditions he discovered constrained him to turn aside from his main

¹ P. 13.

purpose. Stade emphasizes the fact that according to our sources Ezra was the possessor of the law, not its author (*Gesch.* ii 140, n. 2). When he learned of the mixed marriages and had taken appropriate measures to break them up, he might well have felt that the people must conform to the law in all respects before there was any hope of making the Temple worship the central interest in Jewish life and religion.'

As is well known, the Elephantine papyri, which are the subject of Eduard Meyer's book numbered (12) above, shed some interesting light on the history of this period. Papyrus I (dated 407 B.C.) makes mention of 'Delaiah and Shelemaiah the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria.' Apparently a letter had been sent to these men by the Jewish Colonists about the Temple in Jeb. Sachau infers, probably rightly, that Sanballat was still alive. If he were at this time an old man, his sons being the real administrators of the governorship, or even having succeeded him in the office, this would allow of his having been a man in the prime of life thirty-seven years earlier, *i.e.* 444 B.C. when Nehemiah was active.

'The letter shews that the Jewish colonists in Elephantinè looked upon the sons of Sanballat as friends who would be likely to assist their plea for the rebuilding of the Temple in their garrison. This could not have been very long after Nehemiah's second administration, and may seem to raise a doubt about the above identification. As a matter of fact our sources shew that, violently as Sanballat and others struggled against the rebuilding of the walls, and consequently against Nehemiah as the leader of that great work, there were friendly relations maintained by these foes with some prominent persons in Jerusalem. Jehohanan,¹ the high priest in 407, or one of his brothers, had married a daughter of Sanballat (Neh. xiii 28); correspondence was conducted between Tobiah and the nobles of Judah (Neh. vi 17); and these were allied to him by marriage and agreements; Sanballat was able to have a prophet to mislead the governor (Neh. vi 12). Nehemiah's troubles were, in fact, greatly augmented by the disaffection of some of the leaders in Jerusalem. Again the Jewish colonists in Jeb shew that they are not very well informed about the affairs of the

¹ Grandson of Eliashib, Nehemiah's contemporary.

world outside, and they may have been ignorant of Sanballat's intrigues against their fellow-Israelites. Finally, Sanballat's sons, with their good Hebrew names, may not have shared their father's hostility, especially at a time when the wall had long been an accomplished fact.' ¹

The papyri also mention a certain Hananiah, who must have been a high Persian official, as present in Egypt at the time. This person has been identified plausibly with Hanani, the brother of Nehemiah.

Other questions arise in connexion with the Elephantine papyri which are important for Old Testament criticism,² but must be passed over here. Meyer's volume (12), though it gives somewhat dogmatic expression to his peculiar views and has been severely criticized in consequence,³ contains much that is valuable and stimulating. It is to be hoped that the English translation, which has long been announced, will not be delayed indefinitely.

V

Of the rich contributions to the exegesis of the prophetic and other literature of the Old Testament that have been made within recent years, it will only be possible to refer here, somewhat hastily, to a small selection.

Dr. Gray's volume on Isaiah i-xxvii (13) forms a splendid addition to the 'International Critical' Series.⁴ As this volume has already been noticed in the pages of this Review,⁵ it will suffice here to make one or two comments. The

¹ P. 27.

² A brief discussion of the bearing of these documents on the criticism of the Pentateuch is given in Mr. Simpson's book (8) pp. 130 ff.

³ Esp. in Smend's rather severe review in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* for 1913, p. 484 f.

⁴ Which also includes three volumes on the Minor Prophets, two recently completed, viz. vol. ii. (Micah, Zeph. Nahum, Hab. Obad. Joel) 1911, and iii. (Hag. Zech. Mal. Jonah) 1911. See critical notices in this Review, July 1913 (pp. 429 ff.) and Oct. 1913 (p. 188 f.).

⁵ April 1914, pp. 162 ff.

qualities pointed out in the case of the *Critical Introduction* (3) are conspicuous in the *Commentary* also. In a moderate space it covers the whole field of introduction, translation, exegesis, and textual criticism. The best previous work (including that of the older exegetes, and among them the Jewish commentators) has been assimilated. But Dr. Gray deals with his material in an independent way, and applies to it a fine critical, though cautious, judgement. The Introduction, covering some 100 pages, is one of the best available discussions for approaching the study of a prophetic book. Gray rejects the theory of a Maccabean date for any part of the Book of Isaiah.¹ The question of the Messianic hope in relation to Isaiah is illuminatingly discussed (on ix 1-6, cf. on xi 1-8). With reference to ix 1-6 he says :

'Several writers (see especially Volz *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie*, pp. 3 and 6 ff.) treat the reference to the Messianic King as in itself conclusive proof of post-exilic origin ; this is unsafe. At the same time two facts remain : (1) the Messianic King does figure in later writers ; (2) we lack positive proof that the prophets of the eighth century were acquainted with the idea, or, *if acquainted with it, also made use of it*. . . . If Isaiah did look forward to a King in the future and had wished to describe him, he must have described him much as he is here described—righteous, just, mighty in defence of the weak. . . . The ideal certainly has its national limitations : the King will be a Jew, and yet have a wide, a universal dominion, but no stress is laid on the servitude of the nations to Israel. Certainly, too, the ideal falls below that of "the servant of Yahweh" ; but at the same time this ideal of the kingdom established in righteousness, and of the peace-loving, peace-securing King, is anything but ignoble.'

Though Gray himself inclines to an Exilic (or early post-Exilic) date, nothing could be fairer than the above statement. In view of Is. i 26, it is still possible to believe that the passage is Isaianic, and particularly in view of the fact that the two passages lack the regular features of the post-Exilic picture of the Messiah (e.g. the 'child'

¹ P. xliv f.

is not depicted as a triumphant warrior and conqueror of the heathen). The extreme view (of Dr. Kennett and others) which assigns such passages to the Second century B.C. is criticized severely but justly :

' Kennett, who treats the passage (ix 1-6) as *historical*, refers it to about 140 B.C., when " the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel " (1 Macc. xiii 41), and Simon held a rejoicing " because a great enemy was destroyed out of Israel " (1 Macc. xiii 51). In addition to the general objection to assuming a Maccabean origin for any parts of the Book of Isaiah . . . , this theory rests on several very questionable assumptions : (1) that viii 23 (ix 1) is part of the poem ; (2) that the name given to the prince implies a warrior ; (3) that the boots of vs. 4 must be the boots of Greek soldiery ; (4) that the child of vs. 5 is not a *child as such*, but the offspring given to the nation, to wit, Simon. . Marti with more probability places the prophecy between 540 and 440 B.C., roughly about 500, not far remote in time from Haggai and Zechariah, both of whom expected a Messiah of the Davidic house.'

There is a valuable section on ' Isaiah as prophet and teacher,' where the religious conceptions of the prophet are lucidly surveyed. On the question of the prophet's monotheistic belief, after having pointed out that ' the increased sense of the greatness of the God of Israel, and the new sense of His uniqueness which characterises the prophetic teaching in general and Isaiah's in particular, was in no way the reflexion of an increase in the national strength and fame of Israel,' Dr. Gray goes on to say that it owes nothing to speculative tendencies born of the fusion of peoples.

' The new prophetic conception of Yahweh [Jahveh] is no abstraction from the qualities common to Yahweh the god of Israel and Chemosh the god of Moab, or the gods of the conquering Assyrians. And the prophetic conception of Yahweh is as distinct and different from the monistic speculations which appear to have arisen in Babylon as it is from the old popular Hebrew religion. There may be room to question the absoluteness, and certainly the explicitness, of the monotheism of the prophets of the eighth century ; there can be no doubt of the

intensity with which they apprehended Yahweh as a distinct and living personality. He is to them not power, but person ; not the lowest common measure of all known deities, but a personal God, whose activity comprehends all that seemed to them worthy which other nations had attributed to their several gods.'

One of the most illuminating sections is concerned with the 'Poetical Forms of the Prophetic Literature.'¹ The whole subject of Hebrew poetical forms, metre etc. has been surveyed by Dr. Gray in a series of masterly articles, published in *The Expositor* for May 1913, and the following months (14). Here, after a careful analysis of the different kinds of parallelism, balancing and echoing rhythm etc. Dr. Gray adds :

'If the preceding remarks suggest that there is considerable uncertainty or irregularity in Hebrew rhythm or metre, they will very correctly convey the impression left on the present writer by the study of them. Is the uncertainty and irregularity so great as to cast doubt on the very existence of rhythm, or at least, on the value of these rhythmical uncertainties and irregularities for the criticism or interpretation of the Book? Such scepticism is not unnaturally provoked by the far-reaching changes that are often made in the text in obedience to hypothetical laws of metre. On the other hand there is too much approximation to metrical regularity to justify such complete scepticism. . . .

'It may be rarely wise to insist on any textual change merely on rhythmical grounds: on the other hand, when rhythmical and other considerations point towards the same change, though each consideration taken by itself may have slight weight, taken together they may have much. Further, though a line may seem abnormally long, all that the rhythm will suggest is that one or more words are intrusive; it will not determine which—unless, indeed, we can pass beyond the detection of rhythm of word accents to syllabic rhythm.'²

It is one of the merits of this commentary that an attempt is made to indicate in the case of each poem ³ the rhythmical facts.

¹ Pp. lix–lxviii.

² P. lxvii f.

³ Esp. in the notes prefixed to the poems, and in the translations.

The metrical question looms large in the criticism of *Jeremiah*, to the elucidation of which book Professor Peake has devoted two volumes¹ in 'The Century Bible' (15). That the Book has been somewhat neglected in this country is true. As Dr. Peake says :

'It is a singular thing that while many commentaries have been devoted to the Book of Isaiah, the Book of Jeremiah should have suffered from an ungrateful neglect. In Germany some of the greatest Old Testament scholars have paid a worthy tribute to the supreme figure in the prophetic succession, and expounded his words with an insight and a thoroughness which are entitled to the warmest thanks. And among ourselves there are signs that the indifference with which Jeremiah has been regarded is yielding to an ampler recognition of his lonely eminence, and the incomparable service he rendered to religion.'

Here again, Duhm, as in the case of Isaiah, has been a pioneer in radical criticism (especially in the direction of metrical re-construction). It is acknowledged on all hands that the literary problems of Jeremiah are of the most complicated character. It is the merit of Duhm's masterly work to have brought into the clearest relief the problems that underlie the Book in its present form. As Professor Peake says :

'Duhm's commentary opened a new era in the criticism of the Book. However true it may be that his views are too often arbitrary and controlled by theory, it must be said on the other hand that his insight, his power of sympathetic exposition, his intense admiration for Jeremiah, combine to make his work one of the most valuable ever devoted to the interpretation of this book.'

Cornill's great work is described as 'the most helpful of all Commentaries.' Its author 'has been deeply influenced by Duhm . . . but he retains his independence, is less revolutionary, less ridden by theory.'

Of Professor Peake's own work it must suffice here to say that it is packed with matter, and deals with all the problems that arise in a critical yet sober way. It is a fine

¹ *Lamentations* is also included.

piece of work in every respect, and has earned the warm gratitude of English students. The following extract regarding Jeremiah's relation to Deuteronomy will illustrate Professor Peake's method of handling difficult questions.

'The relation of his [Jeremiah's] prophecies to Deuteronomy is a very complicated question. . . . If we take the view that the Law-book found by Hilkiah was written after Jeremiah began his ministry, then the question would have to be raised in particular cases whether Jeremiah had influenced the Deuteronomist or had been influenced by him, and the result would have to be taken into account in determining the date, those prophecies where Jeremiah was the original belonging to his earliest period, those where he borrowed from Deuteronomy being subsequent to its discovery. Those, however, who hold with the present writer that the Law-book was earlier than the time of Jeremiah but remained unknown to him till its discovery, would seem obliged to place those prophecies in which its influence is discernible after the reformation. Matters, however, are not quite so simple. For an examination of the prophecies which we have reason to regard as belonging to the pre-Deuteronomic period shews clear signs of revision in their present form. It is only natural to assume that when in 604 B.C. Jeremiah dictated his earlier prophecies he added to them or modified them to suit the time when he was writing. Accordingly the presence of Deuteronomic elements must not be taken to mean that an address as a whole is necessarily post-Deuteronomic. Moreover we cannot forget that it is especially in the additions of later editors that the Deuteronomic phraseology tends to be most pronounced. The generally accepted view that the Law-book found by Hilkiah is to be identified with the nucleus of Deuteronomy is here adopted. If the view put forward by Kennett were correct, that the Deuteronomic Code is later than Jeremiah, the question would assume an altogether different aspect. But though this is a tempting suggestion to one who would gladly claim an even fuller originality for Jeremiah, there seems to be no sufficient reason for abandoning the usual view. At the same time it ought to be remembered that our book of Deuteronomy contains a good deal more than the book on which Josiah's reformation was based.'

Duhm's translation of the Twelve (Minor) Prophets (16) represents the text as amended and understood by him.

The books are arranged in what is regarded as their true chronological order, and number 14 (Zechariah being divided into three parts). There is a brief Introduction of 39 pages. The translation which follows is in verse, but there are no notes. These are supplied in the *Anmerkungen* (18) which set forth and justify the emendations adopted tacitly in the text of the translation. The English version (17) forms a useful volume, though the English translation of a German translation of a Hebrew text suffers from some obvious limitations. It contains a selection of notes from the *Anmerkungen*, as well as the Introduction. Metrical considerations naturally play a large part in the re-construction of the text. It is certainly a boon to be able to read in English a version of the 'Twelve' based upon a critically revised text, and Dr. Duff has earned our gratitude for the little volume.

It is a pleasure to add here a brief reference to the work of a French scholar on Ecclesiastes (19). The Abbé Podechard has contributed an admirable commentary on this difficult book to the well-known series entitled 'Études bibliques,' which includes such fine volumes as Lagrange's *Juges*, Dhorme's *Samuel*, and Van Hoonacker's *Petits Prophètes*, as well as Lagrange's *Religions sémitiques* and his *Messianisme chez les Juifs*, Jaussen's *Coutumes des Arabes* and Vincent's *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*.

Podechard's work covers about 500 pages, of which 212 are devoted to introduction, and the rest to the commentary proper. The introduction, which is a fine and scholarly piece of work, deals with the following subjects: canonicity, history of interpretation, analysis of the book, its language, Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira, Ecclesiastes and the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiastes and the apocalyptic literature, Ecclesiastes and the doctrines of the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes, Ecclesiastes and Greek philosophy, author and date, style and metrical form, composition, teaching of the Book, the text and versions.

Podechard holds that the epilogue is the work of a later hand, and that the Book has been glossed to some extent by *Hakam* glossators and by a *Hasid*. The writer

of the epilogue who, he thinks, was a disciple of the original author, is responsible also for xii 8, i 2, and vii 27-28. Podechard (like Barton and McNeile) does not believe that Qoheleth was directly influenced by Greek philosophy ; nor that his language is coloured by Graecisms. For the dating he inclines to some time within 290-190 B.C. The volume is one for which students have every reason to be grateful.

The two volumes numbered (20) and (21) above are contributions primarily to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Old Testament. Both are by Jewish scholars, and are noteworthy in every way. The Rabbinic literature is doubtless to the majority of students an unexpected quarter where genuine variants to the text of the Hebrew Bible might be expected to be found. Students of that literature have been aware of the existence of such ; but now the matter has been put upon a scientific basis by Dr. Aptowitzer's valuable work. The first part of this is devoted to prolegomena, and the second contains variants to the text of 1 Samuel. These in many cases confirm the testimony of the ancient versions. Thus the variant in 1 Sam. xiv 18, which is witnessed to by the LXX ('ephod' for 'Ark of God'¹), is attested in a baraita in the Jerusalem Talmud, in the Seder Olam, and in Ibn Ezra. Dr. Abrahams in his Essay on 'Rabbinic Aids to Exegesis' contributed to the *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (1909) has rightly laid stress upon the importance and richness of this unexplored mine, and added several instances (which might easily be extended) of variants collected by himself from these sources. Ehrlich's work (21) is of a different character. It has already reached its fifth volume, and contains a mass of comment, illustration, and textual emendation which is often ingenious and interesting, but must be used with caution. Ehrlich is at home in Rabbinical literature, and possesses a large philological knowledge (e.g. he often cites Arabic illustrations). He has a poor opinion of modern scholarship as a whole. His work, however, is always worth consulting.

¹ Read : *And Saul said to Ahijah, Bring hither the ephod.*

VI

Sellin's volume on Old Testament Prophecy (22) and Welch's on *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom* (23) fall naturally to be considered together. They are both notable contributions to the steadily growing literature on Israelitish religion.

In Sellin's book, which is the outcome of some public lectures, three subjects are dealt with: (a) 'A Sketch of the History of Old Testament Prophecy,' (b) 'Age, Nature, and Origin of Old Testament Prophecy,' (c) 'Ancient Oriental and Old Testament Revelation.' As has already been pointed out above, Sellin occupies a conservative position regarding many critical problems. The influence of Gressmann's *Der Ursprung des Israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), which has so profoundly modified the point of view from which the eschatological element in the prophetic writings is to be regarded, is strongly marked. Sellin, it is true, devotes a considerable space to the criticism of Gressmann's position; in particular, he regards the eschatological element as long anterior to Amos, tracing it back even to Moses, and considers it a native Israelitish growth, not a foreign importation into Hebrew thought. The element of truth in this view may be that in the earlier religion the antecedents were present out of which the later eschatology could be developed. Welch has insisted with much force that it is essentially characteristic of the prophets, and is a fundamental postulate of their thought.

'Elijah works upon it; Amos develops it clearly; every other prophet bases upon it. . . .

'From the beginning they work, not with the thought of a new political order which is the outcome of the conditions of their time, but with the conception of a new world-order which Jahveh is about to bring in. And the new world-order is determined in its character by the nature of Him who ushers it in. One may allow that not until the nation was settled in its land, and had answered the problems set by its conquest, did the people need to conceive some world-order. One may further

allow that they were influenced by similar conceptions as to a world-order which came to them from the outside. But the prophets brought to meet the new moral and religious needs of their people, and to meet the vague unethical conceptions which were passing into Israel's thought from outside, the conceptions of God, His nature and His will, which they had already learned from their own faith. They make patent the power and the width of the great ideas which Israel had already learned ; and all that came from the outside was only admitted so far as it would conform with these. The greatness of Amos lies in the fact that he is so loyal to the old, so open to the new situation.' ¹

If, as Gunkel, Gressmann and Sellin, and we may add Welch, insist, the eschatological element in the prophetic literature is old, some important consequences follow. Many of the passages depicting a brighter future which occur in this literature will wear a different aspect. They may be as old as, if not older than, the original writings in which they occur. Sellin even regards Amos ix 8b ff. as original. This is a difficult view to maintain. Welch is more cautious. He says : ² ' While there are elements in this which appear old, and may even date from Amos, the passage has received so much alteration that it is practically useless for determining the early view.' On the other hand Hosea xiv 1-8 is thoroughly Hoseanic in style and tone, and the assumption in v. 3 that help may be expected from Assyria can only have been possible before the date of the Syro-Ephraimitish league ; ' after that Assyria was the enemy.' The passage must therefore be as early as Hosea, and probably emanates from him. Another consequence of this view on which Welch especially insists is that, if it be accepted, ' we are done with the idea of the prophets as a species of superior politicians.'

' They were what they claimed to be, religious men. They were not dealing with Israel in face of the accidental factor of an Assyrian invasion ; they were dealing with Israel in face of an eternal factor, its God. They were working not on a little question of policy, but on the profoundest question of all, the

¹ Welch in *The Expository Times*, xxiv 209 (Feb. 1913).

² *Religion of Israel*, p. 261.

question of the relation of God to His world. Has God an order for the world? And does He give any man, in the uncertainty of everything else, a knowledge of it? Their eschatology was the means of expressing the thought that there is a world-order, which cannot remain in the background, but which, at whatever time God wills, may break in on the world.' ¹

This is finely said, and expresses a profound truth. The dominant interest of the prophets was essentially religious. Yet it must be remembered that politics and religion were inextricably interwoven in the ancient world, and that the antithesis between them only became possible when the conception of the religious value of the individual emerged. As this, however, was the most significant result and the most permanently valuable contribution of the apocalyptic-eschatological type of thought, Welch's contention is thereby justified. The third of Sellin's lectures deals with the question of revelation. The revelations of other Semitic religions are compared and contrasted with that given to Israel. In the latter alone is God's self-revelation immediate and unique. The tendency here is to set up the old antithesis between the true and false religions. The uniqueness of the religion of Israel, as it comes to expression in the prophetic literature—which is a fact—ought not to blind us to the very real influences that operated from without. The great teachers of Israel worked largely with the raw material of religion which they refined and glorified in the crucible of a burning faith and a vivid religious experience of communion with an all-holy divine Person. It is the magic touch of personality that makes their expression of religion unique and overpowering.

Dr. Welch's volume (23) is a splendid piece of work, characterized by mastery of the material and a sane and penetrating independence of critical judgement. It takes the form of a survey of the stories in J and E, a discussion of prophecy before Amos, and chapters dealing with Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Deuteronomy. There is appended a valuable body of notes in which points of detail are carefully considered. The composite document JE is declared to be

¹ *Exp. Times, loc. cit.*

'unhesitatingly monotheistic, in the sense that to its authors there is only one God whose will is of any significance or whose favour need be sought. The writers have no theory of the divine unity, but they are worshippers of one God. That other nations acknowledge other gods is of course known to them; but what these gods may be in themselves, or whether they have any real existence, is of no importance. While Jahveh can make Himself known to those who worship other gods (as in Gen. xii 7), the other gods have no relation at all to those who worship Jahveh. Abraham is represented as having left his country in order to seek out a new land at Jahveh's bidding, but what he left behind him in the way of worship is not even thought of as interesting. Jahveh's presence and Jahveh's promises content him and reduce the past to a blank.'¹

In connexion with the question of the prophetic attitude to the sacrificial cult, the difficult passage Amos v 25 is discussed.² It plainly implies that the prophet 'did not believe that an elaborate sacrificial system dated from the Exodus.' But did he believe that no sacrifices at all were offered in the wilderness? If so,

'his view is simply incorrect: and J who makes sacrifice not only as old as the desert but as old as the race has a true historical vision compared with the prophet.

'What Amos seems to mean is that then the nation were in such a relation to Jahveh, so consciously dependent on Him and so much an instrument for carrying out His work, that they could rejoice in His immediate presence. . . .

'So insignificant was it [sacrifice] in comparison with this other sense of their unity with their God, that it could be said that Jahveh gave no command about it at all. But now it bulks to them as though it were everything, for it is conceived by them as the chief means by which they seek to realize their dependence upon their God and to fulfil His will. They have substituted this comparatively trivial affair for the greater thing which Jahveh had in view when He made them a nation.'³

Similarly Hosea's attitude to the mixed cultus 'implies no rejection of the cultus in itself. Nothing is more significant of Hosea's attitude than that he pronounced the

¹ P. 8.² P. 87 f.³ P. 88.

absence of all worship a penalty, even the supreme penalty (ix 4).'

Welch rightly insists on the conception of a real Divine intervention as fundamental to the thought of the prophets. It is the core of their religion. 'The conception of the divine intervention, which runs through all the prophetic thought, stood for the truth that the world was one in a common divine purpose. Jahveh came [and will come] to the world because it is His.' The chapter devoted to Deuteronomy contains a long and sympathetic exposition of the aims of the Deuteronomists. On the vexed question of the composition of the book the opinion is expressed 'that none of the solutions which have been offered is entirely satisfactory, and that the last word on the question has not been spoken.' That such a reform as the Deuteronomic 'which appealed to the whole people and represented the aims of all religious men in the community could be carried through in Jerusalem is found in the fact that in Judah the alliance, in the sense of community of ideals, between prophecy and priesthood had always been closer than it was in Northern Israel. The revolt against Ahab and Baalism was carried out in the North by the prophets, and, so far as we know, received no support from the priests; but the similar revolt against Athaliah, who sought the same ends as her father in Jerusalem, was led by the priests (2 Kings xi). . . . Apparently, too, while abuses existed in the cult at Jerusalem and throughout Judah, these were not so profound as those which rendered the cult of the Northern Kingdom half-heathen. Hence neither Isaiah nor Micah dwells so long or so severely on the debasing influences of the national worship as do Amos and Hosea.'¹

This is an important observation, and ought to be remembered. The Deuteronomic prescriptions are also regarded as 'capable of being construed as a legitimate and inevitable development.'

'Clearer definitions in religion, whether they arise along the line of positive ritual prescriptions or along the line of creed definition, are not the arbitrary outcome of priestly ingenuity; they arise from the danger of heresy. . . .

'When one regards the matter from this side, one is able . . .

¹ P. 193 f.

to understand why the Deuteronomists could legitimately call their legislation with all its changes and new developments Mosaic, just as the Nicene fathers could call the creed which they framed Christian and could claim for it the authority of the Apostles.' ¹

Another important contribution to the literature dealing with the prophetic religion is Dr. Battenwieser's book on *The Prophets of Israel* (24), which is to be completed by the issue of another volume. This is a most interesting piece of work, all the more welcome because it comes from the pen of a distinguished Jewish scholar.² It is marked by a thorough knowledge of all recent literature on the subject, a lively sense of the critical problems involved, wide learning, large independence, and a profound sympathy with the prophetic point of view and the prophetic teaching. The main part of the volume is divided into two Books: Book I falls into three parts—the first dealing with Jeremiah; the second discussing the question whether Jeremiah could or did write, and inspiration as opposed to divination or possession; and the third dealing with the view of the nation's doom expressed by Jeremiah, Amos, Hosea and Isaiah. Book II. is concerned with the message of the prophets, Amos alone being dealt with in this volume.

The general attitude of the author is critical. He claims that his treatment of the prophets, 'though it departs to a certain extent from the chronological order of presentation, is not in opposition to, but is in full harmony with, the historico-critical method of modern research.' Up till recently, however, attention has been concentrated upon the historic side of the prophetic writings, while to a large extent the more vital side of the movement, the spiritual side, has been neglected. The author endeavours to deal primarily with this 'inward' side of the prophetic religion and considers that it can best be studied 'by starting with it at the point of its highest development,' *i.e.* with Jeremiah.

¹ P. 215.

² Dr. Battenwieser is Professor of Biblical Exegesis at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Part I. therefore contains a careful and minute critical survey of the utterances of Jeremiah considered in their relation to three critical periods in the prophet's career, *viz.* the Temple-sermon and the persecution under Jehoiakim, the persecution under Zedekiah, and the Confessions of the prophet. In the course of these discussions Bittenwieser has occasion to correct and revise, often in very original fashion, the conclusions reached by other scholars. He suggests emendations of his own, new renderings, and rearrangements of certain passages. Thus Jer. xvii 16b is rendered (with one slight change in the pointing of a single word) as follows: *Verily this man deserves the death-penalty, because he has spoken unto us in the name of Jahveh our God.* If this is correct the result will be to alter the meaning of the entire passage from that commonly accepted. It certainly makes the story more coherent. It must be confessed, however, that some of the suggested new renderings are anything but convincing. Thus Amos v 6 is rendered:

*If ye sought God ye would live—
[There is great fear] that fire will burst forth.*

Scattered about in the volume are various notes on Hebrew idiom and usage¹ which are always interesting and well worth consulting, even if the author's conclusions are not always convincing. Bittenwieser draws a clear line of distinction between the earlier and the great literary prophets. This extends to their inspiration.

'The inspiration of the great literary prophets has nothing in common with the ecstasy of the prophets of the older type—a state which could be artificially produced at will. It is altogether distinct from prophetic possession, as understood by the ancients and defined by Plato and Philo, who held that in order to become the medium of divine revelation, the mind must be in a state of absolute passivity.'²

On the other hand in the case of the great literary

¹ There is a useful separate index of these notes at the end of the volume.

² P. 138.

prophets their religious experience involved the active play of mind, reason, will, and heart.

'To them [the literary prophets] has come a divine moment when, as by a flash of light, they have beheld the mystery of life revealed, when, as by a sudden intuition, they have pierced to the reality of things, when their individual mind has stood face to face with the infinite, universal mind and realized itself the chosen instrument of God's purpose. This moment marks a new epoch in their existence, never again can their life be just as it has been. . . . Such spiritual experiences are not the fruit of an inert, passive mind, but of a mind consciously sounding the very depths of its being, a mind awakened to the fullest realization of its moral and spiritual constitution.'¹

A criticism of this position can be reached by study of Hölscher's recent (1914) work *Die Profeten : Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte Israels*, which accentuates the organic connexion of the Hebrew prophetic writings with the psychic antecedents of ecstasy and vision.

Buttenwieser thinks that the prophets regarded the doom of the nation as inevitable, and did not expect and had no illusive hopes of the conversion of the people by their preaching nor of a consequent averting of the judgement. 'They were aware from the outset that they were preaching to deaf ears.' At the same time they possessed a transcendent faith 'in the final triumph of righteousness,' and, in this faith, could pierce the gloom that enshrouded the end of the national life to a brighter future beyond. Thus the epilogue to Hosea (xiv 1-8), which is regarded as genuinely Hoseanic, is explained as addressed not to contemporary Israel, 'but to a future Israel, the Israel that will have survived the downfall.'

No space is available to illustrate and discuss the very numerous other points of interest in this stimulating book, such as the contention that Jeremiah could not write, and was compelled to employ a secretary (Baruch) in order to get his prophecies into written form. The solicitude of the prophets to have their utterances reduced to written form was dictated by their faith in the future transformation.

¹ P. 139.

It was due to their own initiative, not to that of their disciples,¹ though the latter were active in preserving the written work.

‘Equally untenable is another very common view of the origin of the prophetic writings, *viz.* that the prophets started by putting into writing certain detached utterances, or, it may be, complete separate sermons, as an effective means of supplementing their oral preaching.’²

On the contrary, the written work of the great pre-Exilic prophets essentially represents what they spoke with the living voice.

Enough has been said to shew the fruitfulness and suggestiveness of Battenwieser’s treatment of the prophetic religion. If his conclusions sometimes provoke dissent, students will always find his discussion fresh and stimulating, and will look forward eagerly to the appearance of the promised second volume.

Professor Nairne’s little book on *The Faith of the Old Testament* (25) (a) is a striking and delightful volume, popular in the best sense of the word, and alive to the many-sided beauty of the Old Testament as a noble collection of literature in the interests of a living and continuous faith. Dr. Nairne is familiar with critical problems and positions, and throughout the volume puts his readers into touch with the salient aspects of the modern critical view of the growth of this literature. But his book is in no sense designed to deal primarily with critical problems. That has been done sufficiently elsewhere. The author is concerned rather with the larger aspects of the Old Testament literature as a whole and as the expression of a living religion, which are apt to be lost sight of when it is regarded as ‘merely a text to be analyzed.’ The aim of the book is essentially constructive. It is to shew how the Old Testament, with the broad results of criticism presupposed, may be regarded ‘as a progressive witness to the life of faith.’

‘Its [the Old Testament’s] importance is not artistic or even historical so much as moral. It means that the whole of the

¹ P. 170.

² P. 170.

Old Testament comes to us from the Jewish Church. It is more than a collection of fragments from those earlier times when ancient Israel was in strife with its own paganism, painfully and vigorously forging a purer faith in the furnace which the divine Spirit made white-hot. It is not a book of fragments but an inspired collection. It is not a mere tradition but an interpretation.' ¹

In emphasizing this larger aspect of the Old Testament Dr. Nairne has rendered a notable service. He has set himself a noble task, and carried it through admirably. It is not too much to say that the perusal of this volume will kindle new interest and enthusiasm for the Old Testament Scriptures in many readers who have only been bewildered by the discussions of warring critical schools. Dr. Nairne defines the aim of his little treatise carefully in the following paragraph :

' In this introduction a general sketch has been attempted, not of history, chronology and criticism, but of a view of the Old Testament such as might be taken by an intelligent and fairly well-read man who wished to use it as a collection of sacred books, and to use it both reverently and with natural enjoyment. In the chapters that follow no complete guide to the Old Testament will be found. . . . As far as possible repetition of what may be gathered from the many good handbooks already published will be avoided. On the other hand no striking originality is to be expected. The aim will be to extract from the critical studies which are active on all sides the essential principles which those studies are continually throwing off and establishing. Simplification of the truths that matter to a man who fears God is the purpose of this essay.'

This aim is pursued through a number of chapters which deal with the early prophets (II), Ezekiel and the Law (III), The Wisdom Books (IV), The Apocrypha and Daniel (V), and the Psalter (VI). There are also included an introductory chapter (I) and two indexes, one of which, constructed as a sort of *index raisonné*—containing compendious statements as to the literature etc., with the appropriate page-references to the book—is particularly useful.

¹ P. 6.

It has already been made clear that Dr. Nairne, though he does not profess in this volume to deal fully with critical questions, is far from ignoring criticism and its results. How open-minded his attitude on this matter is, may be seen from the following :

‘ Much as we owe to those who have given us “ results ” of criticism in an easy form, we must continually remind ourselves that such “ results ” are from the nature of the case few ; for the most part they only establish broad principles ; the science of criticism must always be progressive ; and the worst compliment we can pay a critic is to accept him as a dogmatist whom we may obey at our ease instead of criticizing him in our turn while we learn from him. All this applies also to the latest critics, who hold that the prophetic books are the product of late Judaism ; preserving an uncertain amount of matter that comes from the prophet directly ; but preserving this in a large setting of other matter from very various ages and sources.’

Dr. Nairne, it is true, goes on to add : ‘ So far as they condescend to details of analysis, and undertake to prove for instance that just these or those passages of Isaiah belong to the time of the Maccabees, we shall be wise to suspend judgement about their accuracy.’ Here, perhaps, the language might have been more guarded. With regard to certain considerable sections of Isaiah i-xxxix there is a large amount of agreement among critical scholars as to the post-Exilic character of the material ; in many cases this extends to the approximate dating ; in some cases there is much disagreement. It is important to keep these distinctions in mind, and, in fact, Dr. Nairne’s method allows plenty of room for doing so. The book is full of suggestive comment and illustration, directed especially to bring out the religious aspect and value of the literature. The broad lines of distinction between the different types of religious thought—*e.g.* the priestly and the ‘ wisdom ’ types—are skilfully drawn, and the contribution of each to the faith witnessed to by the Old Testament as a whole, embodied in the Jewish Church, is strongly emphasized. Naturally not all the statements made will command assent in every quarter. Thus in a most interesting discussion

of the prophetic attitude to the question of life beyond the grave Dr. Nairne says :

‘ It has often been observed how little they say about life beyond the grave. It would be absurd to infer that they did not believe in immortality. . . . The truth is rather this : Sheol was a prominent article of the popular superstitious faith, and the prophets wished to stamp out that superstition ; hence they avoided all language which might suggest it. . . . The prophets insisted that there was no place where the Lord had not dominion ; therefore there was no such place as Sheol at all. They sometimes use the word, but rarely and always with a touch of scorn or to give a kind of brutal edge to their indignation. . . . So too with other words or ideas from the popular half-heathen mythology [*cf.* Amos ix 3]. . . . At a later time when the puritan victory had been won, and men no longer believed seriously in Sheol, the old language might be repeated as metaphor. But as far as we know the mind of Isaiah and his companions in prophecy, we are not apt to think that they could have talked like that. To them Sheol was false doctrine, cruel to men and derogatory to the Lord. In order to clear it quite away they were reticent about life beyond the grave altogether, just as modern puritans deprived themselves of loving mention of their dead in their prayers that they might not countenance superstitions about the state of those who had fallen asleep in Christ.’¹

It is quite true that as Kautzsch² has said : ‘ The whole conception of Sheol lies outside genuine Jahvism, and was at all times a part, indeed, of the popular faith, but not of religion proper.’ But it is going beyond the evidence to ascribe to the prophets a doctrine of personal immortality. Nevertheless it is true to say that in their teaching, and in the postulates of their faith and religious experience—especially in their sense of communion with God—the germs of a real doctrine of immortality were implicit.

As has been shewn already Dr. Nairne’s volume does not disregard criticism either in its ‘ results ’ or its progressive activities. If the author is primarily concerned with the larger religious and moral aspects of the Old

¹ P. 67 f.

² Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. (extra vol.) 669.

Testament literature as a whole, he aims at constructing his presentment on a real critical basis. Yet, in a long and severe review of his book (25) (b) he is charged by no less a person than Professor Kennett with 'misleading' his readers. He writes :

'Dr. Nairne is so saturated in a "mystical" interpretation of the Old Testament that he fails to recognize the historical significance of the most significant things.'

As an example he quotes a sentence of Dr. Nairne's which speaks of the JE narratives as coming 'from two early schools of literature in South and North Israel respectively, early schools which shew perhaps their noblest character in the first great succession of prophets, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah.'

On this Professor Kennett comments :

'Would not the "plain man" here understand Dr. Nairne to mean that the prophets Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, actually belonged to the schools which produced J and E ?'

All that Dr. Nairne's words need imply is that the JE narratives, in their present form, exhibit the influence of prophetic ideas. This is even true of their earliest written form, while later revision 'on the basis of the development of the theological views that had taken place owing to the work of the great writing prophets' (to use Cornill's words) may, at any rate, be postulated for E. There is thus a real connexion between this composite document and the great prophets. The value of its religious ideas is often underestimated, and Dr. Welch has done good service in bringing this out.¹ But the main count of Professor Kennett's indictment is that Dr. Nairne has gone astray on the subject of Jeremiah's relation to Deuteronomy. Dr. Nairne, in common with the great majority of the most distinguished Old Testament scholars, holds that Deuteronomy must be 'supposed (in some form or other) to be the book of the law which was discovered in the Temple and read to the King [Josiah]' and was followed by Josiah's reformation. Dr.

¹ In chapter II. of his *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom*.

Kennett holds a different view. He thinks that Deuteronomy was published for the first time at a later date, and gives an interesting statement of his reasons for doubting the Mosaic character of the 'book of the law' found by Hilkiah in the Temple. But if this law-book was not our canonical Deuteronomy it must have been something very much like it. Professor Kennett, indeed, admits 'that Josiah's reformation in some respects corresponds with the law of Deuteronomy.' This 'book of the law' also became the basis of a solemn covenant, binding on the King and people. It must therefore have been invested with Divine sanctions. What is gained, then, by denying the Deuteronomic character of the book? But, in any case, why should Dr. Nairne be attacked for holding a view—and interpreting the facts accordingly—which is shared by nearly all competent scholars? Professor Kennett has pointed out certain difficulties attaching to this view, but his own solution only raises fresh—and, perhaps, more formidable—ones. It is significant that the latest English commentator on Jeremiah, Dr. Peake, 'who would gladly claim an even fuller originality for Jeremiah,' if he could accept Professor Kennett's suggestion, yet confesses that 'there seems to be no sufficient reason for abandoning the usual view. At the same time,' he adds, 'it ought to be remembered that our Book of Deuteronomy contains a good deal more than the Book on which Josiah's reformation was based.' In this connexion Professor Kennett insists that the reason why Jeremiah stood aloof from Josiah's reformation of the cultus was that 'like his predecessors among the canonical prophets he refused altogether to accept sacrifice as a divine institution. The fivefold cord of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah vi (whoever the author), and Jeremiah, is not easily broken.' But if Isaiah, for instance, rejected the cultus absolutely, and meant by his denunciation of hollow ritual to condemn not the abuse of sacrifice but sacrifice altogether, how is this attitude to be reconciled with the conception of his inaugural vision—the most solemn moment of his life—as taking place in the Temple, with its altar and altar-fire? Is not the imagery here full of the associations of the cultus? Moreover

is not Isaiah responsible for the doctrine of the inviolability of Sion, the seat of Jahveh's majesty? No doubt it is true to say with Dr. Gray that 'a non-sacrificial, not less than a monotheistic, religion was the natural outcome of their [the prophets'] teaching'; but he adds 'the utterances of the prophets need not be taken as a prohibition absolute of sacrifice (*cf.* Is. xxx 29) for their own time.' Dr. Nairne, who recognizes that sacrifice 'has its good side,' by no means minimizes the anti-sacrificial language of the prophets.¹

We have only space to refer to one more point, *i.e.* Professor Kennett's strictures on Dr. Nairne's treatment of Is. ix 1-7. Let the reader compare carefully Dr. Nairne's paragraph² with Gray's masterly treatment of the section in his commentary on Isaiah, and then ask himself whether he has been 'misled.' For all that Professor Kennett has to say on the matter, Gunkel and Gressmann might never have written.

Dr. Nairne's 'mystical' interpretation of the Old Testament would, no doubt, be open to criticism if he deliberately refused to face the original meaning of passages, so far as this can be recovered. But he does nothing of the kind. And his method has the supreme merit of emphasizing the fact that these ancient scriptures have come down to us as the expression and interpretation of the faith of a living Church, an aspect which some critics are apt to ignore. Dr. Gray with his usual felicity of expression and balanced judgement has summed up the true situation. Speaking of the Book of Isaiah, he says³:

'No full justice can be done to a book which is a great monument of Jewish religion after the Exile, if all our attention is devoted to determining whether this or that passage is "genuine," and dismissing it as not "genuine" if it is not the work of Isaiah. In reference to works such as the Book of Isaiah, the term "genuine" is indeed misleading. None of these nameless writers may have possessed the religious genius of Isaiah, but together they represent the play of the earlier prophetic teaching on the Jewish Church. In religion, as elsewhere, great person-

¹ *Cf.* p. 66 f.

² P. 60 f.

³ *Commentary on Isaiah*, p. xii.

alities count first, and it is the privilege of a student of the Book of Isaiah to come face to face with one, if not two such personalities : but the religious community is the necessary outcome, or field of action, of the great religious personality and his teaching, and the student of the Book of Isaiah has but half entered into his inheritance, if he communes with Isaiah and the great exilic prophet, but fails to feel the life of that post-exilic religious community which not only preserved for themselves and for us the words of the earlier prophets, but preserved them in books which were also made to breathe the hopes and aspirations that sustained the Jews through centuries of isolation, oppression, and temptation.'

Only a brief reference can be made here to Mr. H. Wheeler Robinson's striking book on *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (26) which ought by no means to be neglected by Old Testament students.

It is the author's aim, within the limits of space available, to present the leading ideas which are fundamental to the religion of Israel

' in their historical setting, with some indication of their theological and philosophical value, and of their significance for Christianity. The method of treatment is therefore distinct from that which would naturally be adopted for a history of the religion as a whole through successive periods, though the historical development is more or less followed in the discussion of each topic, and in the order of treatment.'

The critical standpoint is adopted throughout. The author wishes to emphasize the supreme place of the dominant ideas of the Old Testament from which it is that ' the Gospel of the New Testament after all springs.' The theme is treated in nine chapters which deal with the history of the source of the ideas (I), the idea of religion (II), the idea of God (III), the idea of man (IV), the approach of God to man (V), the approach of man to God (VI), the problems of sin and suffering (VII), the hope of the nation (VIII), and the permanent value of the Old Testament (IX). Though some of his statements provoke criticism, such as his assertion, with reference to later Judaism, that

' the very conception that God had spoken once for all in the

Law removed Him further off from the ordinary worshipper, and in combination with other influences, yielded the post-exilic idea of the transcendent God, who deals with His world only through the agency of innumerable intermediate beings'—

an idea that would soon be dispelled by study of the synagogue prayer book—Mr. Wheeler Robinson always presents his material in an admirably clear and well-articulated manner. An excellent example of his exposition at its best is the following :

' If we would understand the spiritual significance and inner meaning of this Temple-worship, we must turn to the Book of Psalms, which is frequently called the hymn-book of the second Temple. This title expresses a real though partial truth. Some parts of the Book of Psalms are clearly intended for liturgical use, and the inference is corroborated by later Jewish tradition. On the other hand, we must not think of the Psalter as a hymn-book in the hands of the worshipping congregation ; certain parts of it are rather to be regarded as anthem-books in the hands of the Levitical choirs, to the rendering of which the ordinary worshipper would listen, and respond at intervals. Many Psalms, however, do not belong to this category ; even if they were adapted, by suitable changes, for use in public worship, they seem to have originated in private devotion. Like our own hymn-books of to-day, the Psalter has been enriched by contributions inspired in very different circumstances. To this catholicity of origin must be largely due its catholicity of devotion, for Jewish religion covered Jewish life. It is possible, indeed probable, that it contains pre-exilic elements. But as it lies before us, it is primarily the witness to that spirituality of worship which gathered around the Temple Sacrifices after the Exile. No just view of Jewish religion can be gained by anyone who does not see the Psalter written, so to speak, in parallel columns with the Book of Leviticus.'

The author goes on to shew how the Psalter ' raises implicitly, in some cases explicitly, one of the perennial problems of the Church—the relation between the sacrificial or sacramental approach to God, and that approach which makes all outward acts secondary to the personal attitude of the worshipper.' The book, which is particularly strong on the difficult subject of Hebrew psychology, deals with

such important matters as the future life, holy places and seasons, the priesthood and the sacrifices, the covenant-relation, the Day of Jahveh, the Kingdom of God, the Messianic Hope, the Servant of Jahveh, and many other kindred themes. The data are always carefully stated, and the student will not consult Mr. Robinson's pages in vain. It would form an excellent text-book.

The last volume which can be noticed in this article is an important contribution from Professor H. P. Smith (27). This is a delightful book to read. It is unencumbered by footnotes, and the important Biblical references are cited in full. The book contains a masterly survey of the development of Israel's religion, as Professor Smith conceives it, from the nomadic stage down to the latest period. After a chapter on the nomadic religion (II) there follow discussions of Moses and his work (III), the Transition (IV), Religion in the Early Literature (V), the Earlier Prophets (VI), Amos and Hosea (VII), Isaiah (VIII), Jeremiah (IX), the beginnings of Legalism (X), Ezekiel (XI), Legalism triumphant (XII), the Dogmatic Bias (XIII), the Messianic Hope (XIV), and its spiritualization (XV), the Spiritual Reaction (XVI), Legalism and practical problems (XVII), Apocalyptic development of the Messianic Hope (XVIII), 'the treasure of the humble' [the piety revealed in the Psalter] (XIX), the final stage (XX).

It will be seen that Professor Smith allows no artificial barriers to impede his exposition of the religious development which is carried right down to the moment when the Talmudic stage of Judaism begins to emerge. It is needless to say that the author's attitude is severely critical. To some students this will seem sometimes to be pushed too far, as *e.g.* in the author's rejection of the final sections of both Amos and Hosea. But he does not deny the historicity of Moses nor unduly minimize the importance of Moses' work. He says :

'On the basis of the accounts which have come down to us, critically treated, it seems fair to say . . . that Moses was the founder of the particular religion of Israel. Himself religiously impressed by the phenomena of the mountain region in which

he sojourned, and able to interpret the experience of his people from this point of view, he aroused in them a faith that the God whom he had met in the desert had chosen Israel as his special charge. As God of the storm he was able to fight on their behalf against their enemies, and his willingness to do this was indicated by the covenant into which he entered. The promise he gave in this covenant was that he would lead them into Canaan. . . .

‘There is no evidence that Moses wished to abolish the worship of the minor divinities, the clan and family gods, which were already naturalized among the people. The demand that Jahveh alone should be worshipped belongs to the later period. The conflict with the Baal religion, which is set forth in the story of the golden calf, is also of later date. Yet the impression must have been made on the people that Jahveh is the superior divinity, to whom the first devotion must be paid. The covenant between Jahveh and the clans was also a covenant between the clans themselves, and by this union of discordant elements, and by the common devotion to Jahveh, not only was the sense of nationality awakened, but the basis was laid for future progress. And it is probably true, as has been urged by others [especially by Budde], that there was a valuable ethical element in the thought that Jahveh and Israel were united not by nature but by an act of free choice.’¹

He goes on to say :

‘Although the founder of the religion of Israel, Moses was not in our sense of the word a monotheist. Probably he never considered the question whether there was one God for the whole universe. The problems which confronted him were practical problems, and for the solution of these it was enough to say that Jahveh was powerful enough to secure Israel in possession of all that he had promised them. Sufficient to that day was the faith that Jahveh was a God of war and that Israel was his special care.’

Professor Smith places Deuteronomy chronologically at the usual date (*i.e.* when Jeremiah had completed five years of his ministry). It ‘introduced a new element into the religion of Israel, an element with which Jeremiah had little or no sympathy.’ The importance of the Law-book

¹ P. 59 f.

consists not only in its centralization of worship in the Jerusalem sanctuary, but also in the fact that

'the sacrifices are now first legitimated in an ostensibly prophetic document. The earlier prophets had denounced burnt-offerings and sacrifices, tithes and free-will offerings as indifferent or even abhorrent to Jahveh. But the Deuteronomist enjoins them as equally important with justice and mercy. Tradition was undoubtedly on his side.'

This position is, perhaps, rather too sweeping, as has already been pointed out above. There are many points in the book which will naturally provoke criticism on the part of some readers. To select but one, Professor Smith is hardly just to the apocalyptic writers in asserting that 'in the apocalyptic literature the vision is a purely literary device.'¹ But the book as a whole is a notable contribution to the literature of the subject. If, in some respects, its critical positions may seem to be too advanced, it must be remembered that this is not always the case (*e.g.* the author expressly allows that there was 'at least one period' in Isaiah's life when the prophet cherished the idea of a purified and restored community). Professor Smith's treatment of his theme is marked by brilliant characterization, sound method, and easy mastery of the material. The book is full of rich and suggestive comment.

Perhaps the most striking tendencies manifest in recent literature on the Old Testament are the modifying influence exercised on some of the extremest positions of purely literary criticism by the introduction of new factors, and the approximation to agreement on certain points (*e.g.* as to the date and character of P). At the same time the aspect of many old problems has been completely transformed and new ones have appeared. The whole study is much more complex in character. The student is conscious of receding horizons, and, in some directions, of unexplored (at present unexplorable) regions. But real progress has been, and is being, made; and the future of the study is regarded by its devotees with quiet confidence and hope.

G. H. Box.

¹ P. 128.

ART. IV.—OLD LONDON CHURCHES
IN TUDOR AND STUART LITERATURE.

1. *A Survey of London, conteyning the originall, antiquity, increase and moderne estate and description of that city.* Written in the year 1598 ; since by the Author increased with divers rare Notes of Antiquity. London: 1603. By JOHN STOW. With Introduction and Notes by C. L. KINGSFORD. Two Volumes. (Oxford University Press. 1908.)
2. *Ancient Funerall Monuments.* By THOMAS WEEVER. (London. 1631.)
3. *Camden Society Publications.* (London : for the Society. 1838- .)

And very many Tracts, Ballads, Broad sides etc.

RICHARD GRAFTON, writing in 1572, says :

‘The parishe Churches in London and adjoyning are in number CXIX besyde the Cathedrall Churches of Paules, Westminster, the Temple Church and the Church in the Rolles in Chancery Lane.’¹

But John Stow, in his *Survey of London*, twenty-six years later, gives the number in the Cities of London and Westminster and the Borough of Southwark and near vicinity as 123, and adds :

‘Every parish having his Parson or Vicar at the least, learned men for the most part, and sufficient Preachers to instruct the people.’²

A rather cautious appreciation of the clergy at the time. Visscher’s View of London, 1616, shews most of the spires and towers from the East to the Savoy. St. Dunstan’s in the East and St. Laurence Pountney appear the loftiest, though this may be the effect of the point of view ; Bow

¹ *A Little Treatise* (1572).

² *Survey of London* (1598), ed. 1603, p. 491.

Church having a square tower with four pinnacles and a very short spire above. The Cathedral, as in all old pictures, dominates the scene, with the lofty tower and transepts dividing the building midway. Of these 123 Churches standing at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in thirty-four of which were erected monuments to the great Queen, by far the greater number were destroyed in the Fire. Many of those so destroyed were not rebuilt. The Seventeenth century was not a Church-building age: the ascendancy of Puritanism and the rise of the Nonconformist sects were factors tending to diminish the call for new Churches. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the munificence of pious benefactors flowed into other channels, and it is a fair assumption that on the accession of Queen Anne there were fewer Churches in London than there were at the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth.

Allusions to the Churches in Sixteenth and Seventeenth century literature are fairly frequent, but they are not generally of a character to satisfy the lover of mediaeval architecture or the ecclesiologist. The efforts of the Tudor and Jacobean architects were all in the direction of stately palaces or royally sumptuous mansions for the great men of the time. The feeling of reverence for the old Gothic buildings of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries was lost: the materials of the old Priory of St. John of Jerusalem were used for the erection of Somerset House. Still, the allusions to Churches by the writers of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, trivial as they often are, serve to throw some side-lights on the state of the Church and the history of the time, and may therefore be cited without apology.

Our attention is naturally first drawn to the few Churches that escaped the Fire, and especially to those which are still standing and retain, either entirely or in part, their ancient character. These are (after Westminster Abbey which stands alone in importance) St. Bartholomew the Great; the Temple Church; St. Helen's; All Hallows Barking; St. Olave, Hart Street; St. Giles, Cripplegate; St. Peter's in the Tower; the Church of the Augustine Friars;

St. Ethelburga ; St. Etheldreda, Ely Place ; the Savoy Chapel ; St. Margaret's, Westminster ; St. Mary Overie, Southwark ; St. Mary's, Lambeth ; St. Andrew Under-shaft ; St. Catherine Cree.

St. Margaret's, Westminster, will be treated elsewhere with Westminster Abbey, to which it has an affinity apart from its contiguity which seems to warrant this course. The Church of St. Faith's-under-Paul's, being a part of the structure of the Old Cathedral, has been dealt with in an article that appeared in this Review in July 1914. It has not been found possible to adopt a perfectly orderly sequence as regards the locality of the Churches mentioned in these notes, which form only a portion of those collected, and the reader is asked to pardon any inconvenience this erratic course may cause him.

I

'On the east side of this Ducke Lane,' so writes Stow, 'and also of Smithfield, lyeth the late dissolved priorie of St. Bartilmew founded by Rahere, a pleasant witted gentleman, and therefore in his time called the Kinges Minstrell.'¹ Dugdale adds that Rahere had formerly been 'a Droll or Jester but that St. Bartholomew appeared to him in a vision and commanded him to build the Church.'

Rahere's antecedents are of little consequence to us ; his name remains as a great founder, and his Church, even as now left to us—little more than the choir and transepts (in Stow's time a portion of the choir only), is pre-eminent among London Churches and affords one of the few specimens we have of Twelfth century Norman or Transition work.

References to the ancient Priory Church as it is still called are very scarce, and it was not till our own time that the removal of trade premises and judicious and liberal-minded restoration brought it into prominence. However

¹ *Survey*, ed. 1603, p. 379. Fabyan in his *Chronicle* (1516) says, 'in the iij yere of Kyng Henry [III].'

a curious incident is to be found in Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's anecdotes in the Harleian MSS.¹

'One Dr. Dee,² minister of Great Saint Bartholomewes, who was a man but of a debauched life, understanding that his Parishioners did disgust him so far as that they had articted against him and ment to preferre him into the high cõmission Court . . . he thus plotted etc.'

It seems that he made an offer to resign the living if they would give him a certificate of good conduct to assist him elsewhere. Being anxious to be rid of him they did so; upon which he refused to go. The Parishioners were in a dilemma as they had laid themselves open either to a charge of falsehood or to one of collusion with their vicious vicar.

Of 'Little St. Bartholomew's' Weever writes:

'This Hospital for the poor and diseased was founded by Rahere Prior of great Saint Bartholomewes. . . . The Church remaineth a Parish to the Tenants dwelling in the precincts of the Hospitall.'³

The biographer of William Lambe who died in 1570 wrote:

'He, seene at little Saint Bartholomewes deuoutly following that godly exercise, he hath not had his eies occupied in gazing about the Church.'⁴

John Lyly, the author of *Euphues*, was buried here in 1606. The little Church, as restored, is still used in connexion with the Hospital.

II

The Church of St. Peter within the Tower, sometimes termed Chapel Royal, and also known as St. Peter ad Vincula, presents now much the same appearance as in old

¹ No. 6395 (A.D. 1655).

² Not the Dr. Dee who wrote a Diary and had the reputation of being a magician.

³ *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 435.

⁴ *A Memoriall of William Lambe* (1580), D. jv.

plates of the Eighteenth century—a very low Gothic building with a flat roof. The Church was intended, to quote Stow's words, 'for the inhabitants there,' but it has historic memories from being, in the words of Pennant, 'the undistinguishing repository of the headless bodies of numbers who ended their days on the adjacent hill, or when greatly favored, within the fortress.'

Here are buried in unmarked graves, among many others, Fisher Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, Thomas Cromwell, Protector Somerset, the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Essex. There is a tradition as to the spot where More was interred. Cresacre More in his life writes 'In the bellfrie, or as some say, as one entreth the vestry.'¹ John Davies of Hereford visited the Church about 1610 and has some verse on the Earl of Essex :

' I found
The Chappell open : where was shewed to mee
Where Essex was intered thats so renowned,
Upon whose grave were pues but newly pight
To keep all eyes from seeing where he lay
Least they to tears dissolue might with the sight
So hees a foot-stoole made for them that pray.'²

The beautiful but severely simple Norman Chapel in the White Tower receives but little notice. It was at one time used for the Public Records.

The Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katherine by the Tower, founded by the widow of King Henry II,³ was saved from appropriation by Henry VIII through the intercession of Queen Anne Boleyn,⁴ but the lands and revenues were seized by the Crown in the next reign. Dr. Francys Mallet, who was Master after Edward VI's death, gives the following account :

' But how I founde the house when I first entred to it, bayr

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas More* (1626), p. 357.

² ' Scourge of Folly ' (1611). *Works* (1878), ii 57.

³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii 460.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Topographica Brit.* (1790), ii 21.

and unrepayred, it is not unknown to many; and I did set up my house at my first entryng, furnyshed a quere w^t syngyng mē, bought furntute both for the churche and the house and hath ev'sith kept house.' ¹

The Church remained as a Parish Church for many years. The two following quotations from plays refer, in the first case to the place as a Nunnery, and in the second to the use of the Hospital as a mad-house.

' . . . me thought I met yong Cellide
Just at S. Katherines gate the Nunnery,
Did she not cry out, 'twas my folly, too,
That forc'd her to this Nunnery? ' ²

' The World's turn'd Bethlem,
These are all broke loose
Out of Katherine's, where they use to keep
The better sort of mad folks.' ³

St. Olave's, Hart Street, not far from the Tower, is an interesting Gothic Church of the Fifteenth century and one of those that escaped the Fire. The parish register for 1586 has a name that is always honoured :

'Aug. 22. The oulde Ladye Sydney widdowe was carried to be buried at Penshurste . . . but pd all dutyes here both to the p̃son, the p̃sishe, and the officers.' ⁴

This was Samuel Pepys' Parish Church and he lived near by in Seething Lane. The notes in his Diary were made just after the Restoration, when the Prayer Book and Church customs were again being used after their suppression. In 1660 he writes :

'Nov. 4. In the morn to our own Church, where Mr. Mills

¹ 1554-60. *Bibliotheca Topographica Brit.* ii 15.

² Fletcher, *Mons. Thomas* (1619), IV. i.

³ Ben Jonson, *Alchemist* (1612), V. i.

⁴ If this Lady Sidney be the wife of Sir Henry Sidney, her death took place in the same year as that of her husband. Sir Philip Sidney, the son, died also in 1586.

did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer . . . but the people had been so little used to it that they could not tell what to answer. '

Two years later he writes :

'Put on my new Scallop which is very fine.

'To Church and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice, but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his eares in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the Church, to go up to the pulpitt to preach without it. '

There is a portrait bust of Mrs. Pepys in the Chancel of the Church and one to Samuel Pepys on the south side. Both husband and wife are buried under the Altar.

A drawing by West in 1737 shews the Church much as it is now, but it is without any railings. The existing ironwork with skulls and spikes over the entrance seems to have afforded Dickens a reason for the nickname of ' St. Ghastly Grim ' which he bestowed on it.

Near by, in Tower Street, is the ancient Church dedicated to St. Mary and All Saints and known as ' All Hallows Barking,'¹ one of the early Gothic Churches that escaped the Fire. Part of the nave is Early English. There was a Chapel on the north side built by Richard I and a tradition exists that his heart was buried there. The Brotherhood attaching to this Church was suppressed in 1548. There is a monument to Henry Howard Earl of Surrey beheaded in 1546; and a still more distinguished man who suffered death in the same way a hundred years later, *viz.* Archbishop Laud, was also buried here, though his body was afterwards removed to Oxford. As to this Anthony à Wood has the following notes in his Diary :

'William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was beheaded and his body afterwards being layd in a leaden Coffin was buried at All hallowes Barking by the Tower of London.

'The Bones of William Laud . . . were laid in a vault at S. Johns College at 10 of the clock at night having bin the day before taken from . . . at London where he was buried.'²

¹ Or more anciently ' Capella beatae Mariae de Barking.'

² *Diary* of Anthony à Wood, 1645, Jan. 10 and July 24.

Dr. Heylin writes :

'It may be noted as a thing remarkable, that being whilst he lived, the greatest Champion of the Common Prayer Book here by law established, he had the honour, being Dead, to be buried by the form therein prescribed, after it had been long disused, and almost reprobated in most Churches of London.'¹

In Dekker's *Witch of Edmonton* there occurs :

'Well if ever we be married, it shall be at Barking Church in memory of thee.'²

The bark of a dog causes this punning allusion to Barking Church. The scene is in the neighbourhood of Edmonton, and Barking in Essex is probably indicated, not 'All Hallows Barking in Tower Street,' as in Gifford's note on this Play. Nor was the latter Church destroyed in the Fire as Mr. Gifford seems to think.

III

The Priory of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, was surrendered in the reign of Henry VIII. The Church known as Great St. Helen's remains, and is one of the few, and one of the finest, Gothic Churches left to us. It is still 'a faire Church,' to quote Stow's words, and still 'wanteth such a steeple as Sir Thos. Gresham promised to have builded in recompense of ground in the Church filled up with his monument.'³ Among other monuments is that of Sir John Crosby whose 'Place' was near by. Old drawings shew portions of the Nunnery and, notably, the Ancient Crypt, over which was a fine Hall with panelled ceiling.⁴ On the Dissolution this was sold to the Leathersellers' Company and used as their Common Hall. Unfortunately it has now been replaced

¹ Heylin's *Continuation of Laud's History* (1695), p. 453. There is an allusion to the parish in the Duke of Newcastle's play *The Varieties* (1649), III. i.

² c. 1623, III. i.

³ See Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*.

⁴ Stow's *Survey*, ed. 1603, p. 173.

by a modern building. The Church register and Churchwardens' accounts give some interesting items :

' 1575. Received of Sir Thos. Gresham Knight for his lycense to eat flesh and put into the poor Men's box, according to the statute, 6^s. 8^d.

' 1609 paid for VI gallons and III quarts of Clarett Wyne at ijs and iiij the gallon,'

and in 1611 a curious baptism entry :

' Job rakt out of the Ashes being borne the last day of August in the lane going to Sir John Spencer's back gate and there laid in a heape of Sea-cole ashes was baptised . . . and dyed the next day after. '

In 1643 are entries that indicate the new party in power :

' Paid for taking down the Cross upon the Belfry and for writing down the names of these that tooke not the Covenant.

' Paid a carver for defacing the Superstitious inscriptions.'

In Archbishop Laud's Diary of 1630 there is an entry :

' Jan. 16 Sunday. I consecrated S. Catherine Creed Church in London. '

The old Church—' Crist Church,' of which ' Cree ' is an abbreviation, was taken down in 1628. The consecration alluded to was of the new Church. It was one of the accusations against Laud at his trial that in the consecration of this Church and St. Giles' in the Fields, he came ' in a pompous manner ' and he ' kneeled down on entering and after used many Bowings and Cringings.'¹ It is interesting to find by an entry in the City Letter Book in 1530 that this Church was granted a ' lycence to make and sette uppe a stage pleye for the profytte of theire Church and the ornamentes of the same.'²

Close by is the Church of St. Andrew-under-Shaft in connexion with which Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies of England* has this commemoration of John Stow, whose

¹ *History of the Troubles and Tryal of Laud* (1695), p. 340.

² City Letter Book O 164.

great topographical work was the foundation of all other works on London for a century after his death.

‘John Stow was born in this City, bred at learning no higher then a good Gramar-Scholar, yet he became a painful, faithful, and (the result of both) useful Historian. He died . . . Apr 5 1605 and is buried at the upper end of the North Isle of the Quire of Saint Andrews, Undershaft.’¹

The Maypole or Shaft was erected in front of this Church, which stands at the corner of Saint Mary Axe in what is now called Leadenhall Street, but was formerly considered as part of Cornhill. When not required the pole lay on a row of hooks over the house doors in Shaft Alley. It was destroyed by the mob in 1552. Stow himself writes in 1598 :

‘These great Mayings and May games made by the Governors and Maisters of the Citie, with the triumphant setting up of the great shaft (a principall Maypole) in Cornhill before the Parish Church of Saint Andrew, therefore called Undershaft . . . have not bene so freely used as afore.’²

The existing Church of St. Alphage on the south side of London Wall is of interest since the base of the tower of the ancient church still remains. There are four pointed arches which supported the tower—formerly part of the church belonging to Elsing Spital. The original St. Alphage, to quote Stow’s words,

‘which stode neare unto the Wall of the Cittie by Cripplesgate was pulled downe, the plot thereof made a Carpenters yearde.’³

Near by is the fine old church of St. Giles, well preserved and judiciously restored. Its chief fame lies in its being the burial place of John Milton in 1674. John Speed the antiquary was buried here in 1629 and Nicholas Breton, the poet, according to the register was here married to Ann Sutton in 1592. One notes that one of Breton’s poems is entitled *The Unquiet Wife*, but the poem need not have been inspired by personal reflexions.

¹ Fuller’s *Worthies* (1662), ii 221.

² Stow, *Survey*, 1603, p. 100.

³ *Ibid.* p. 296.

Near by was the chapel of St. James in the Wall, which Stow wrongly includes in his list of Parish Churches.

'It belonged to the Abbey and Conuent of Garadon, as appeareth by a Recorde the 27 of Edward the first.'¹

The well attached thereto gave a name to Monkswell Street adjacent. This Chapel or Hermitage was granted by Henry VIII to William Lambe, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, but Stow has it that Lambe purchased it of Edward VI.² By Lambe's Will, dated 1574, it passed to the Clothworkers Company.

'To the Guild or Fraternity of the Assumption of B.V. Mary of the Art or Mystery of Clothworkers . . . certain lands and tenements in the parishes of St. James in the Wall near Cripplegate,' etc.³

The biographer of William Lambe states that the property was given

'for the hiring of a minister to reade diuine service thrise a weeke . . . in the chapell . . . belonging to his house called by the name S. James in the Wall by Criplegate.'⁴

Lamb's name survives in 'Lamb's Conduit Street,' a conduit having been formed at his expense in that locality.

We must take it that the fine church of St. Sepulchre, so prominent a feature in Newgate Street, has but little of the ancient building. It was almost, though not quite, destroyed by the Fire. In the interior of the porch the fan tracery of the roof still remains, and parts, at all events, of the tower appear to belong to the original structure. Ford who wrote his description in verse the year after the Fire thus alludes to it :

'A lofty pile (now humbled) next appears,
Once christ'ned 'twas Saint Sepulchers,
Which, since it felt the all-interring flame,
The Saint lost kept its empty name.

¹ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 318.

² *Ibid.* p. 301.

³ Roll 264 (25) ; *Cal. of Wills*, Court of Hustings, Part ii 703.

⁴ *A Memoriall of William Lambe* (1580), c. iv.

They tell us here of one unmelted Bell,
That toll'd condemned Felons knell,
This Rumour heard, hang still, said she, to do
That work for London Fauxes too.'¹

As to the earlier history of the church we gather from Stow that it was 'newly reedified or builded about the raigne of Henry the Sixt.' Stow also tells us that 'Sixe belles in a tune' from the Church of St. Bartholomew were sold to the parish of St. Sepulchre's.²

In Edward VI's time there was a petition to Parliament complaining of burial fees in this church :

'But when the corps was buried . . . yet must we nedes paye VIIId more that is to say 1d to the curate, which he called an heade penye and vjd to ij clarkes that we had no nede of.'³

There was a suicide from the tower mentioned in the *Sydney State Papers* :

'Dorrington, rich Dorrington, yeasterday morning went up to S. Sepulchre's Steeple and threw himself over the battlement and broke his neck.'⁴

Samuel Pepys has an entry on August 10, 1662, as to the new service book which the clergyman here refused to read, shewing the divided state of opinion on the restoration of the Church Services.

Stow has no information as to the little Church of St. Ethelburga near St. Helen's in Bishopsgate Street. A drawing of 1737 by West shews it much as it is now, almost built in by houses, but the spire shewn in the rear does not now exist. Some of the Gothic arches of the ancient church still remain and there is a carved rood-screen with gallery.

In Queen Mary's reign the parson got into trouble, as we read in Wriothesley's *Chronicle* :

¹ S. Ford, *Londini quod Reliquum* (1667), p. 5.

² Stow, *Survey* (1603), pp. 381 and 387.

³ R. Crowley, *Petition*, c. 1551, 'Early English Text Society,' 1. 665.

⁴ (1600), vol. ii p. 187.

'The 23 Aug. (1553) John Day, parson of St. Alborowes within Bishopsgate, was set on the pilory againe and had his other eare nayled.'

Only 2 days before the first ear had been nailed, his offence being 'Seditious wordes speakinge of the Quenes Highnes.'¹

Two other fine Gothic churches still remain with us, and reference to them cannot be omitted although neither of them has ever been in the possession of the Anglican Church since the Reformation: the Church of the Augustine Friars in the street which still bears its name—Austin Friars, and the church dedicated to St. Etheldreda, more familiarly called 'Audrey,' which was an adjunct of the Bishop of Ely's Palace and still stands in Ely Place, Holborn.

At the Dissolution the Monastery of the Augustinians disappeared, but, as Stow writes:

'The Friars Church he pulled not downe, but the west end thereof enclosed from the Steeple and Quier was in the yeare 1550 graunted to the Dutch nation in London to be their preaching place.'²

The choir of the Church has disappeared, but the beautiful Gothic nave of nine Bays dating from the Fourteenth century still remains in good preservation though slightly out of the perpendicular. The two broad aisles have been restored, and the building is still in the occupation of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch respected the ancient monuments, but later, there was shameful desecration. Fuller writes:

'I had rather Mr. Stow than I should tell you of a nobleman who sold the monuments of noblemen in S. Augustine's Church in Broad Street for a hundred pounds which cost many thousands and in the place thereof made fair stabling for horses.'³

Weever gives the names of some men of note here buried:

'Here sometime did lie entombed the body of Richd Fitz-Alan Earle of Arundel beheaded on Tower Hill 1395 . . . John

¹ Camden Soc. ii 101.

² *Survey* (1603), p. 178.

³ Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State* (1642), liv. The Marquis of Winchester, son of Sir W. Powlett, is here alluded to. His name survives in Great Winchester Street.

Vere Earle of Oxford . . . put to execution 1461; Edward Stafford who by the sleights and practises of Cardinal Wolsey . . . was beheaded 1521. . . . Here was interred Edward the eldest son of Edward the Black Prince 1375.'¹

The printed archives of the Dutch Church body shew some evidence of their method. Public confessions of guilt were made in the Church and recorded, *e.g.* [translated]:

'13 June 1574. Deacon — had deceived several of his brethren in commercial affairs.

'12 Sept. 1574. Jan Stel, bookseller, who during the Divine Service had kept his shop open.

'29 Aug. 1574. . . . who, near London Bridge maltreated another woman on account of a debt,' etc.

In the Register of the Privy Council, 1593, it is stated:

'There have been of late diuers lewd and mutinous libells set up within the Citie of London . . . uppon the wal of the Dutch Churchyard.'²

Stow does not mention the beautiful Chapel attached to Ely Place, still in a good state of preservation. The crypt forms a church with a second church superposed, the period being late Thirteenth century Gothic. James Howell, in one of his letters written some fifty years after the incident related, has an allusion to this Chapel which evidently, in James I's time, was in the hands of the Roman Catholics.

'It must needs be a commendable thing that they [Roman Catholics] keep their Churches so cleanly and amiable, for the dwellings of the Lord of Hosts should be so; to which end your greatest ladies will rise before day sometimes in their night

¹ *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 419.

² *Register of Privy Council*, Starr Chamber, May 11, 1593. Prof. Boas, in his introduction to *Works of T. Kyd*, considers that this order has reference to Kyd and Marlowe who were arrested on a charge of alleged atheism and for stirring up hostility to foreigners peaceably resident in London.

clothes, to fall a-sweeping some part of the Church and decking it with flowers, as I heard Count Gondemar's wife used to do here at Ely House Chapel.' ¹

IV

Of the eight churches dedicated to 'All the Saints' the most important has been already noted; others may be briefly mentioned. Of 'All Hallows Staining' Stow writes:

'commonly called Stane Church (as may be supposed) for a difference from other Churches, which of old were builded of timber,'

but the explanation is not very satisfactory. He says of a street called Stayning Lane that it was so called of Painter Stainers dwelling there, and that the small Church of St. Mary Stayning took its name from the Lane. Mr. Kingsford, Stow's latest editor, thinks the name is explained by a reference to the ancient 'parochia de Stanenetha' (Stonehithe). Stow adds that most of the 'fayre monuments of the dead were pulled downe and swept away and that the Churchwardens' accounts shewed 12 shillings for brooms.' At the present time all that is left of this church, *viz.* the square stone tower and part of the churchyard, can be seen from Star Court, Mark Lane.

In 'All Hallows at the Wall' (the church as rebuilt still clings to the remnants of the old City walls, as may be seen in the street bearing the name of London Wall) there was a monument to Queen Elizabeth. She was described as a Judith against the Holofernes of Spain; like Deborah, a Mother in Israel:

'In Court a Saint,
In Field an Amazon,
Glorious in life,
Deplored in her death.'²

¹ *Fam. Letters*, VIII. xxxvi. The Church became private property and in our own days was actually offered for sale by auction. It is now the property of the Roman Catholic body.

² Munday's *Continuation of Stow* (1633), p. 823.

The churchwardens' accounts for 22 Henry VIII have amongst other items 'payde for a sacke of colys vjd : for brede and dryncke for them that wachyd the sepucure jd : for Judas Candells iiijd.'

There was a cell in the Church for an anchorite familiarly called the 'Anker-hole.' The most celebrated of these recluses was 'Symon the Anker,' who occupied the cell in the reign of Henry VIII and who wrote a book called *The fruyte of redempcyon*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1514 in black-letter :

'Of your charyte praye for the Anker of London Wall wretched Symon that to the honour of Jhesu Cryst and of the virgyn his moder mary hath compyled this matter in englysshe for your ghostly comforte that understande no latyn.' (D jv.)

Symon must have been a source of profit to the Church, for the accounts shew payments made by him of money received as gifts from visitors. There is, moreover, an entry :

'Item receyuede of the ankyr Syr Symon of the gaynes of a stande of ale which he gave to the Cherche iiij s vjd ob.' and another :

'Itm a chalys gevyn by Sr Symon Anker anno henrici octau i xiiij^o wayenge viij vn^s.'¹

All Hallows the Less was in Thames Street and was not rebuilt after the Great Fire, but a part of the churchyard remains. In the will of N. Snypston, 1392, there is a reference to this Church which used to be called All Hallows the Less upon the Solars (*super solariis*) i.e. the Cellars, a title which resembles that of St. Mary-le-bow (St. Marie de Arcubus).

All Hallows the Great in Thames Street was called by Stow 'All Hallows the More,' and he adds :

'it is also called All Hallowes *ad foenum* in the Roperie, because hay [was] sold neare thereunto at hay wharfe and ropes of old time made and sold in the high street.'²

¹ See C. Welch, *Churchwardens' Accounts* (1912).

² *Survey*, ed. 1603, p. 236.

The Church of St. Bride (a shortened form of St. Bridget) in Fleet Street had not the celebrity of the Church as rebuilt by Wren after the Fire. The Holy Well there gave a name to the Palace of Bridewell adjacent. Some remains of the pump connected with this well may still be seen by the side of the Church wall. St. Bridget's fame is greater in Ireland than in England, and one of her reputed miracles was to turn the water of a well into beer. One of Dryden's characters suggests the Church as a meeting-place :

'When you come to S. Bride's Church (if ever you come to Church, Gentlemen) you shall see me in the Pew that's next the Pulpit.' ¹

and one of Shadwell's shews us that a connexion between Alsatia and Church-going was not an impossibility :

'I have been at Evening Prayers at St. Bride's and am going home through the Temple.' ²

The Church was totally destroyed in the Great Fire, but a monument erected nine years before the Fire is still left in the churchyard, inscribed 'The doorway into Mr. Holden's vault erected April Anno 1657.' From an old map it would appear that the Church had a supplementary churchyard situate by the Fleet Ditch between Fleet Bridge and Holborn Bridge.

V

St. Dunstan's in the West, although it survived the Fire, has since disappeared ³ and has been replaced by the present Church, which, however, contains an interesting relic of the past, *viz.* the statue of Queen Elizabeth removed from old Lud Gate. When the King of Denmark was entertained by James I in 1606 it was at this point that the procession

¹ *The Wild Gallant* (1669), V. i.

² *Squire of Alsatia* (1688), iii j.

³ A drawing of the old church shews a large porch-like clock house with two figures to strike the bells. This may still be seen at St. Dunstan's Villa, Regent's Park.

was greeted 'with a noise of cornets which shewed their cunning to be excellent.'¹ By his will (1618) John Davies of Hereford, the Poet, desired to be buried here—

'as neere as convenientlie may be to the place where Mary my late welbeloved wife lyeth.'

According to Walton, Dr. Donne was Vicar here at one time. Pepys has an entry in his Diary, Aug. 17, 1662 :

'This being the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach, unless they read the new Common Prayer and renounce the Covenant, I had a mind to hear Dr. Bates' farewell Sermon and walked to S. Dunstons . . . A very good sermon and very little reflections in it to anything of the times . . . I hear most of the Presbyters took their leave to day and that the City is much dissatisfied with it.'

Dr. Bates the Vicar would not renounce the Covenant or read the Prayer Book and was ejected from the living.

The ancient church of St. Clement Danes was, to quote from Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments*,²

'So called because Harold (surnamed Harefoot) King of England of the Danish line and other Danes, were here buried. This Harold was the base son of King Canut. . . . His body was first buried at Westminster, but afterwards Hardicanut, the lawfull sunne of Canut, being King, commanded his body to be digged out of the earth and to be throwne into the Thames, where it was by a Fisherman taken up and buried in the Church-yard.'

Stow quotes the Chertsey Record, 'a fayre leager Booke, sometime belonging to the Abbey of Chartsey,' which tells us that the Danes

'were by the just judgement of God all slayne at London in a place which is called the Church of the Danes.'³

Dr. Donne's wife was buried in this Church and Izaak Walton tells us that

'His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried.'⁴

¹ *Harleian Miscellany*, ix 439.

² (1631), p. 444.

³ *Survey* (1603), p. 450.

⁴ *Life of Dr. Donne* (1640).

We may gather that the Parish was infected with the Plague in James I's time. In a play of Middleton, a pawn-broker refuses to deal with a man living there :

'Of what Parish is your Pawn? . . . S. Clement's, Sir. Away with your Pawn, Sir, your Parish is infected.' ¹

Apparently at this time the Church stood in a somewhat isolated position, for Speed tells us that Catesby and the other Gunpowder-plot conspirators

'appointed to meet some three days after behind St. Clement's Church without Temple Barre.' ²

VI

Two Churches close to St. Paul's deserve brief notice : St. Gregory's which was built against the Cathedral at the south-west end, and St. Martin's Ludgate, close to the entrance to the Precincts. St. Gregory-by-Paul's, as it was called, served occasionally for the Cathedral service when the great Church was out of repair :

'1561. The xxij of June was mydsomer evyn. The serves at Sant Gregore Chyrche be-syd Powlles by the Powlles quer tyll Powlles be rede made.' ³

The following, from Whitelocke's *Memorials* shews a revival of Catholic ceremony so much promoted by Archbishop Laud :

'In Michaelmas Term (1633) was some discourse about the Communion Table in St. Gregorie's Church near Pauls ; which by order of the Dean of Pauls was removed and placed altarwise to the distaste of several of the Parishioners, who at length appealed and it came before the King and Council who approved what the Dean had done.' ⁴

The inconvenient and, indeed, improper position of the Church being a disfigurement to the Cathedral, induced

¹ *Your Five Gallants* (1608), I i.

² *History* (1632), p. 1231.

³ Camden Soc. New Series XXVI. Intro. p. 39.

⁴ Whitelocke *Memorials*, (1672), p. 18.

Archbishop Laud to order its removal and re-erection. This act was one of the offences brought against him at his trial. But, as he said, the Parishioners

'were not left without a place for Divine Service; for they were assigned to a part of Christ Church till another Church might be built for them. . . . I was not so much as one of the Referees.'¹

It was this re-built Church that Evelyn attended in 1654, a time when most of the Pulpits were occupied by Puritans, and heard Jeremy Taylor preach.²

St. Martin's Ludgate suffered severely in 1561 by the same storm which finally wrecked the spire of St. Paul's:

'Betweene one and two of the clocke at afternoone, was seene a marueilous great fyrie lightning . . . at which instante the corner of a turret of y^e steeple of Saint Martin's Church within Ludgate was torne and diuers great stones casten down.'³

Samuel Purchas was Rector here in 1619, when he published his *Purchas his Pilgrim*. The following lines on the needlessness of eulogy may be found in the present Church:

'No Epitaph need make
The just man fam'd,
The good are prais'd,
When they are only nam'd.'

Of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, John Selden wrote in his *Table Talk*:

'Lecturers do in a Parish Church what the Fryers did heretofore, get away not only the affections, but the bounty, that should be bestow'd upon the minister. . . . The Lectures in Blackfriars, perform'd by Officers of the Army, Tradesmen and Ministers.'⁴

Nat. Field, playwright and actor, was buried here in 1633, and Shakespeare and Ben Jonson both had houses

¹ *History of the Troubles* (1643).

² *Diary*, April 15, 1654.

³ *Report of burning of Steeple of Poules* (1561).

⁴ (1654), Arber's Reprint, p. 67.

near by. The Church has long since disappeared, but a small portion of the churchyard may still be seen.

The Chapel of St. Thomas on London Bridge was built in the early part of the Thirteenth century. As told by Stow :

‘ A mason being Master Workman of the Bridge builded from the foundation the large Chapple on that Bridge of his owne charges, which Chapple was then endowed for two priestes, foure Clearks etc.’¹

The Company of Bowyers took an interest in this chapel :

‘ “ Ordinacio de Bowyers.” That every householder of the Craft pay quarterly 3^d. to the common box for the maintenance of a light before “ the Rode and Seint George ” in the Chapel of St. Thomas on London Bridge.’²

Stow says the chapel was turned into a dwelling-house and afterwards removed ; but an engraving, dated 1747 and bearing the arms and name of Howard, Earl of Norfolk, shews the interior of two chapels, one over the other, with Gothic windows looking on the river. There are figures, one apparently the City Surveyor in costume of the period of Chaucer, and two assistants habited as in the time of the Georges, the one holding a plan and the other measuring the floor with a rule.³

VII

There were in London eight Churches dedicated to St. Michael. According to Stow the one in Cornhill, which as rebuilt by Wren is still a prominent feature, had

‘ The best ring of 6 Belles to be rung by 6 men that was in England, for harmonye, sweetnes of sound and tune.’⁴

We may therefore assume that the following quotation from

¹ *Survey* (1603), p. 23.

² *Calendar of City Letter Books*, 3 Henry VII.

³ In Brit. Mus. 3540 (2).

⁴ Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 197.

the Morality Play of *The Three Ladies of London* alludes to that Church:

'You may thank God and good companie that you came this way.

The Parsonage of S. Michael, bi'r Ladie if you have nothing els,

You shall be sure of a liuing beside a good ring of bells.' ¹

Here is an entry from the Parish register, November 12, 1641:

'Baptized. John Cornhill a foundling in the Street.'

The responsibility of fatherhood did not seem to burden the consciences of the parishioners of St. Michael's. The register records many similar cases, 'Cornhill' being always given as a surname, the Christian names being sometimes a little sportive, e.g. 'Piscatrix' and 'Peregrine.' Two were found in one day, one of whom was christened 'Newman,' possibly from Newman's Court which exists to this day.

Within a few yards of St. Michael's is St. Peter's, Cornhill. Thomas Nash, writing on the Plague in London in his time, has a reference to this Church which is curious and puzzling:

'The vulgar menialty conclude therefore that it (*i.e.* the Plague) is like to encrease because a Hearneshaw (a whole after-noone together) sate on the top of S. Peters Church in Cornehill.' ²

There was a fine library attached to this Church, but when Stow wrote in 1598, the books were gone and the place 'occupied by a Schoolmaster and his Usher over a number of Schollers learning the Grammar rules.'

Three other Churches dedicated to St. Michael are referred to in biographies or elsewhere. The first, St. Michael Paternoster Royal or Tower Royal, dates from early times, but was rebuilt about 1400 and a College founded by Sir Richard Whittington of civic fame, he

¹ R. Wilson, *Three Ladies of London* (1584), C. 2.

² *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* (1593) Z 2^v. Mr. McKerrow, the latest editor of Nash (*Works*, 1910, ii 172), can offer no explanation. Another portent given by Nash was: 'An Oxe that tolde the bell at Wolwitch.'

having been four times Lord Mayor. This Richard Whittington, to quote Stow,

‘was in this Church three times buried, first by his executors . . . then, in the reign of Edward the Sixth the Parson of the Church thinking some great riches to be buried with him, caused his monument to be broken, and in the reign of Q. Mary, the Parishioners were forced to take him up and lap him in lead as afore to bury him the third time.’¹

Thomas Mountague was Vicar of the Church on the accession of Queen Mary, and, as he tells us in his autobiography, had the boldness to continue to read the service from the Prayer Book of Edward VI which was an abomination to the Queen :

‘The next Sundaye after [the Coronation of Q. Mary I] Thomas Mountagu, parson of Sent Myhellys in the towere ryall, otherwyse callyd Wytthyngeton College—dyd ther mynystere al kyend of servys accordynge to the godly order than sett forthe by that moste grasyus and blessyd prence Kynge Edward the syxte.’²

Whittington’s College of Priests was dissolved in Henry VIII’s reign. The present College Hill is a reminiscence. ‘Royal’ is said to be a corruption of ‘Riole,’ a lane adjoining the Church bearing that name. The wine merchants in the locality (the Vintry) traded with the town of La Riole near Bordeaux. Stow, however, calls the Church St. Michael in the Royal, alluding to the

‘“Tower Royall” of old time the King’s house . . . but sithence called the Queenes Wardrobe.’

The name ‘Tower Royal’ still survives in a short street near at hand.

St. Michael’s, Crooked Lane, was the burial place of another Lord Mayor of great fame :

‘Here lieth entombed in a Chappell of his own foundation, Sir William Walworth, Knight, Lord Maior of London, whose

¹ Stow’s *Survey* (1603), pp. 244–5.

² *Autobiography* (1553), Camden Soc., p. 179.

manfull prowesse against that Arch-Ribel Wat Tyler and his confederates is much commended.' ¹

And, if the epitaph is reliable, another Lord Mayor, elected four times to the office, was here buried :

'Worthy John Lovekin, Stock-Fishmonger
Of London, here is leyd,
Four times of this City Lord Maior hee
Was if Truth be seyed.' ²

The author of the following lines on Queen Elizabeth considered fractions of a year as a negligible quantity of time :

'She ruled England yeeres 44 and more
And then returned to God,
At the age of 70 yeeres, and somewhat od.' ³

But the Church of St. Michael, Wood Street, could boast of containing the remains of a King, or a portion of one, *viz.*, to quote Stow, 'the head of James, the fourth King of Scots of that name, slayne at Flodden Field.' The story is that the body was taken to the Monastery at Sheen and after many years was discovered by Queen Elizabeth's glaziers who 'cut the head from the rest, but smelling the sweet perfumes of the balms gave it to their master Launcelot Young' who, after keeping it at his house in Wood Street, had it buried with other human remains in the charnel of the Church. Sir Richard Baker throws doubt on the story and says it has been asserted that James was not killed at Flodden but escaped and 'passed to Hierusalem, and there spent the rest of his days in holy contemplation.' ⁴

The Church of St. Alban's, Wood Street, was according to Anthony Munday :

'Dedicated to Saint Albane the first Martyr of England. Another character of the antiquity of it is to be seene in the

¹ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 410.

² *Ibid.*

³ Munday's *Continuation of Stow* (1633), p. 857.

⁴ Baker's *Chron. Hen. VIII.*, p. 11 (1643).

manner of the turning of the arches in the windowes and heads of the Pillars. A third note appears in the Romane bricks here and there inlaid among the stones of the building. King Adelstane the Saxon, as tradition says, had his house at the east end of this Church.' ¹

Adel, or Addle, Street adjoins the Church and probably derives its name from the above tradition. Some time before 1633 the old Church was in a decayed and dangerous condition, insomuch that

'many of the Parishioners refused to go to it, many that went, went unwillingly; but all with much fear where they sate with more: their danger all the time much troubling and disturbing their devotions.' ²

The Church was subsequently rebuilt and survived the Fire. Sir John Cheke, Schoolmaster to Edward VI, was buried here in 1557, and William Dunthorne, in his time Town Clerk, was given a eulogistic epitaph—

'Clericus urbis erat primus, nullique secundus.'

VIII

Bartholomew Lane, near the Bank of England, marks the position of the Church known as St. Bartholomew by the Exchange. In the time of Henry VII Sir Wm. Capel added a chapel to the Church and was there buried. Either the founder of the chapel or the chapel itself probably suggested Capel Court, still existing. Miles Coverdale was buried in this Church, but his body was afterwards removed to St. Magnus. The Vestry Minute Book has some rather curious entries, *e.g.* :

'At a vestrey houlden the xjth daye of October 1607 it was appointed that widdowe Sherbroke shalbe a sercher of dead bodies with widdowe Booth; and that John Varnham shalbe warden for the poore vagrants.' ³

¹ Munday's *Continuation of Stow* (1633), p. 308.

² *Ibid.* p. 819.

³ (1890), p. 55.

Near by was another Church, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, removed when the Bank of England was erected. The name was doubtless from 'The Stocks' set up near by. This punishing machine must have been common. Stow writes that 'Sir William Hampton (Maier, 1472) caused stockes to be set in every ward to punish vagabonds'¹ and the Stocks Market took its name from 'a payre of Stocks, for punishment of offenders' near St. Mary Woolchurch. Dr. John Pearson, the distinguished author of the 'Exposition of the Creed,' was said to have been Rector here at one time, but the Creed Sermons were delivered at St. Clement's, Eastcheap. This is an entry in the Vestry Minute Book :

'At a Vesterye holden the 19 of Janū 1577 It ys agreed . . . to berne s^ten olde papist bookes w^{ch} remayned in y^e vestery.'

One could better have understood this action in the next reign : Elizabeth had not the kind of bigotry which would destroy books, possibly of antiquarian interest, even if they contained matter alien to her own religious convictions.

At All Hallows, Bread Street, John Milton was baptised. He was born in Bread Street in 1608.

Sir John Hayward in his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* describes 'a mightie tempest' in 1559, which destroyed part of the spire of this Church, and injured St. Dionys Backchurch, Fenchurch Street. A hundred years later this Church was destroyed in the Great Fire, and only a few months afterwards a parishioner was actually buried in the ruins. This is from the Register :

'1666-7. Mr. Francis Tryon Merchant was buried in the ruines of the Chauncell.'

Robert Crowley was Vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry 1576-8. He wrote a metrical version of the Psalms which he himself printed, as he also did a version of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. He quarrelled with Archbishop Parker on the Surplice question. Parker wrote to Cecil (April 3, 1566) :

¹ Stow, *Survey* (1603), pp. 526, 227.

' I am complained to that Crowley and his curate gave a great occasion of much trouble yesterday for expelling out of his Church divers clerks which were in their surplices to bury a dead corse as customably they use. . . .

' We found that Crowley quarrelled with the singing men for their " porters coats " and said that he would shut the doors against them.' ¹

The following quotation shews that in the reign of Henry VIII the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry was allowed to be used for Academical Lectures by a layman, whose strong personality, distinguished talents and unhappy fate will never be forgotten :

' He [i.e. Sir Thomas More] read for a good space a publique Lecture of *S. Augustine de civitate* in the Church of S. Laurence in the Old Jewry whereunto resorted . . . all the chiefe learned in the Citty of London.' ²

In the next century under Puritan ascendancy we note signs of the times in Lectures of a different order :

' *Vindiciae Legis* : or a Vindication of the Morall Law and the Covenants from the Errours of Papists, Arminians, Socinians and more especially Antinomians. In xxix Lectures preached at Laurence-Jewry. By ANTHONY BURGESS, Preacher of God's Word.' ³

Burgess was a nonconformist who held a living and was ejected in 1662.

St. Mildred's Court in the Poultry marks the position of St. Mildred's Church where Thomas Tusser, the author of *A Hundreth good Points of Husbandrie*, was buried about 1580. Stow writes, ' new builded upon Walbrooke in the yeare 1457. . . . The new Quire now standeth upon the course of Walbrooke.'

' The passage of our most drad Souereign Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London the daye before

¹ *Parker Correspondence*. Parker Society, pp. 275-6.

² W. Roper, *Life of Syr Thomas More* (1626), p. 3.

³ Title (1646).

her coronacion,'¹ was a festival to the Church of St. Peter, Cheapside. We read in the contemporary account:

'Uppon the porche of Saint Peters Church dore, stode the waites of the Citie which did give a pleasantt noyse.'

The name of the Church dedicated to St. Osyth got corrupted into St. Syth or Sithes, and the street is still known under another variation as Size Lane. Edward Hall, the historian, who died in 1547 'lieth buried in the Church . . . I cannot recover any Epitaph upon him,' so writes Thomas Fuller.² Katherine Philips, a poetess of the late Seventeenth century, whose memory should be kept green, and who, to her friends, was known as 'The Matchless Orinda,' here found a resting place near to her son whose epitaph she had composed:

'Too promising, too great a mind
In so small room to be confined.'³

A small portion of the churchyard of St. Bennet Sherehog (the name from a certain Benedict Shorne, a benefactor) may still be seen in Pancras Lane. The two Churches were close together. St. Mary Abchurch (or Upchurch, being on slightly rising ground) gave a name to Abchurch Lane. In Joshua Sylvester's work there is 'An Elegie in commemoration of the vertuous life, and godly death of the right worshipfull and most religious Lady, Dame Hellen Branch who . . . lieth interred in Saint Mary Abchurch . . . 1594':

'Such life, such death well ends the well begun
And by the Even the faire dayes praise is won.'⁴

St. Dunstan's in the East, near Tower Street, is not so frequently referred to as the Church in Fleet Street dedicated to the same Saint. Here is a case of penance related in Trussel's *Life of Henry V*:

'The Lady bare-footed . . . went to S. Dunstan's in the

¹ Contemporary Account (1558), C ij. The Church was called St. Peter's by the Cross and stood at the corner of Wood Street.

² *Worthies* (1662), p. 219.

³ a. 1664. *Poems*, 1667.

⁴ 1594. 'Monodia,' *Works* (1641), p. 640.

East, where at the rehallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the vessells with water, and according to the sentence, shee offered to the Altar an ornament of the value of tenne pounds.¹

‘Sir John Hawkins famous for his discoveries in the West Indies lived thirty years in this parish, and though he died and was buried at sea, a monument was placed here to his memory.’²

St. Mary-at-Hill is near by. In the Church, in the year 1536, there would appear to have been acted something in the form of a play, for in the records there appears an entry :

‘Item, paid to Wolston ffor makynge of y^e stages ffor y^e prophettes vjd.’

Phillip Stubbes, the author of *Anatomie of Abuses*, lived in the parish and, apparently, was married at the Church in 1586, though the certificate has the wording : ‘To marry at any Church or Chapel in the diocese of London.’³ William Patten, historian and Judge of the Marshalsey, dates his *History of the Expedition into Scotland* in 1547, ‘Out of the Parsonage of Saint Mary’s Hill in London, 1548.’

St. Andrew’s in the Wardrobe (the King’s Wardrobe being near by) was in Knight Rider Street. David Roberts the vicar was bold enough to give public evidence of his adherence to the Earl of Essex who was executed shortly afterwards (1601) :

‘In my Parish Church of St. Andrew’s in the Wardrobe, on Dec. 25, 1599, in the Prayer for the Church, Queen and State, I used the following words : “And as my particular duty more especially bindeth me, I humbly beseech thee dear Father to look mercifully with thy gracious favour upon that noble Barak thy servant the Earl of Essex, strengthening him in the inward man against all his enemies.”’⁴

St. Bennett Hithe, also called St. Bennet, Paul’s Wharf, is no doubt the Church that Shakespeare had in mind in the following passage in *Twelfth Night* :

¹ *Continuation of Daniel’s History* (1636), p. 103.

² *Magna Britannia*, p. 85.

³ *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), p. 51.

⁴ *Cal. of State Papers Eliz.*, vol. 274, Jan. 1, 1600.

'*The Clown* (addressing the Duke). The Bells of Saint Bennet, Sir, may put you in mind,—one, two, three.' ¹

The Church was near to Puddle Dock and the Blackfriars Theatre, and the Bells would be a familiar sound to him. However, Churches dedicated to St. Benedict might presumably have been found in Illyria which is the scene of the play.

Elias Ashmole, the founder of the Ashmolean Museum, was married here. He writes in his Diary :

'I was married to Mrs. Elianor Mainwaring . . . in St. Benedict's Church near Paul's Wharf. . . . She proved a virtuous, good wife.' ²

Master Adams, the Vicar of this Church in the time of the Civil War, offended the party in power and was stigmatized as 'a known profane pot-companion both day and night . . . a temporizing Ceremony-monger, etc.' ³

To refer again to the subject of foundlings : two other cases may be cited from the Register of St. Mary Aldermary :

'Thomas Aldermary a child which was left in this Parish upon a stall in Watling Streete . . . was baptized the 8th of March and supposed to be a monthould or therabouts.

'Mary Aldermary a child was left in a pewe in the Church at a finurall.' ⁴

Stow thinks this Church was so named because it was 'elder than any Church of St. Marie in the Citie.' It has been suggested that the 'Other Mary' of the Gospels was the Saint to whom this Church was dedicated, 'Sancta Maria, altera Maria.'

In 1534 the Parson of this Church lost his life in the affair of 'The Maid of Kent.' We read in the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars* ⁵ :

'Thys yere was the mayde of Kent with the Monkes freeres and the Parson of Aldermary, draune to Tyborne, and there

¹ Act V. Sc. i.

² *Diary*, March 27, 1638.

³ c. 1647. *A Succinct Traiterologie*.

⁴ Register 1658 (1880), pp. 97-8.

⁵ Ed. 1852, p. 37.

hangyd and heddyd. . . . the Monkes burryt at the Blacke freeres. . . . The holy mayde at the Gray freeres, and the parsons at his Church Aldermary.'

Referring again to the parish records we find a curious entry in the reign of Queen Mary, 1553, in the books of St. Benedict,¹ called Grasschurch or Gracechurch from the vicinity of the Grassmarket :

'pd upon May last, to a prieste and six clerks for singing of Te Deum and playing upon the Organs, for the birth of our Prince (which was thought then to be) 1. 1. 8.'

The lamentable delusion of Queen Mary, resulting from a complaint well known to doctors, gave rise to anticipations of the birth of an heir to the throne, but that reports should be spread that the child was born seems hardly credible. However, Peter Heylin gives this instance, *viz.*:

'The curate of S. Ann's near Aldersgate, who took upon him after the end of the procession to describe the proportion of the child, "how fair, how beautiful, how great a Prince it was."'²

In connexion with this Church of St. Anne a rather scarce tract dated 1641 shews the state of affairs probably common in many Churches during the troublous times of the Civil War :

(Title) 'True relation of a Combustion Hapning at St. Anne's Church by Aldersgate betweene a stranger sometimes a Jesuite but now thanks be to God reformed . . . and one Marler a Button maker contending which should first preach, the minister being absent.'³

After a struggle the button-maker got the pulpit and commenced 'to draw out his words like a Lancashire Bagpipe . . . and desired God to give a blessing to all button-makers. . . . He then prayed for the good Society of Cobblers and Tinkers.'

The Church of St. Mary Le Bow or St. Mary upon the

¹ The Church has disappeared, but Bennet's Court marks the spot.

² *Ecclesia Restaurata* (1661).

Aug. 8, 1641. British Museum E 169(6).

Arches, dating from the time of the Conqueror and commonly called Bow Church, seems to have derived much fame from its ring of bells as nearly all the allusions in plays and elsewhere touch on this subject, either with reference to the peal or to the nine o'clock Curfew. In *Eastward Ho* someone cries :

'I would make a mouth at the City as I rid through it, and stop mine ears at Bow Bell.'¹

Again :

'Hark, Bow-Bell rings, before the Lord 'tis late;
William, good night, prethy take up the Plate'²

and again :

'Gods me, 'tis nine o'clock, harke Bow-bell rings.'³

and in Heywood's *Edward IV* :

'Pluck out the clapper of Bow Bell and hang up all the Sextons in the City.'⁴

In the Duke of Newcastle's *The Varieties* someone asks :

'Were not you one of the brothers that guarded the Dyall at Bow Church and us'd to put Cheapside in mind of their quarters?'⁵

This would appear to allude to a certain official known as the Clerk of Bow Bell who was, according to Stow,⁶ not always punctual in ringing and offended the 'prentices, who lampooned⁷ him :

'Clarke of the Bow Bell with the yellow locks,
For thy late ringing thy head shall have knockes.'

To which the Clerk replies :

'Children of Cheape, hold you all still,
For you shall have the Bow Bell rung at your will.'⁷

¹ Chapman (1605), V. i.

² 'Tis merry when Gossips meet (1609), H. 3.

³ W. Haughton, *Englishmen for my Money* (1616), F. 1.

⁴ *I Edw. IV* (1600), I. iv.

⁵ (1649), III. i.

⁶ *Survey* (1603), p. 258.

⁷ This incident is related by Mr. Alfred Noyes in his recent poem *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern*. He gives the name of the Clerk as Gregory Clopton.

The Court of Arches sat in Bow Church and derived its name from that circumstance.

In Middleton and Dekker's *Roaring Girl* we read :

'I cite you . . . to appear . . . in Bow Church . . . to answer a libel of precontract . . . you're best Sir take a copy of the Citation, 'tis but 12 pence.'¹

Fifty years later Pepys has an entry in his Diary on February 4, 1663 :

'To Bow Church to the Court of Arches, where a judge sits and his proctors about him in their habits.'

Some of the arches of the Norman crypt still remain in a good state of preservation. Traces may also be seen of an earlier Saxon church, and some relics of Roman material are visible.

In Arnold's *Chronicle* (early Sixteenth century) there is a record of the Visitation of the Church of St. Magnus situate close to London Bridge. Among numerous items of complaint is the following :

'That Dyuers of the priestis and Clarkes in tyme of dyuyne seruice be at tauerns and ale howsis, at fyshing and other trifils, whereby dyuyne seruyce is let.'²

The same author gives the value of the living in 1494 :

'The Valew and Stynt of the Benefice of Saint Magnus at Londõ Brydge, Yerly to the Person . . .'

It would seem that the Parishioner, besides paying what was termed 'rent,' paid voluntary offerings, and the amounts of both are set forth in a long list—*e.g.* :

'Edward Bellowe his rent iiij. li. . . the offring xiiij. s.

Herry Somer his rent viij. li. . . the offring xxvij. s.'

The costs and charges are appended, one item being 'pristis wagis x. li.' from which it might be inferred, that the 'Person' was not a Priest, or at least did not perform the duty.

The clear income of the Benefice was £91 16s. 1½d.³

¹ (1611), IV. ii. . . .

² c. 1502 (1811), p. 278.

³ 1502. Richard Arnold, *Customs of London*, 1811, p. 224.

Miles Coverdale, 'who' as his monument tells us 'spent many years of his life in preparing a translation of the Scriptures,' was rector of this Parish in 1564 and is buried in the Church. In 1559, the first year of Elizabeth, there was an ebullition of Protestant zeal in the way of image destruction. Strype writes :

'On Sep. 16 at St. Magnus at the corner of Fish Street, the Rood and Mary and John were burnt.'¹

Here is an earlier allusion to St. Magnus in the Fifteenth century at the time of Jack Cade's rebellion :

'Now had the Londoners lost the Bridge, and were driven to S. Magnus Corner, but a fresh supplie being come, they recouered the Bridge and droue the Kentish beyond The Stoupe in Southwarke.'²

Shakespeare has the incident in *Henry VI* :

(*Cade* speaks.) 'Up Fish Streete, downe Saint Magnes Corner, kill and knocke downe and throw them into Thames.'³

John Taylor, the Water Poet, has this reference to the Church of St. Laurence Poultny, Cannon Street, a church which before the Fire was conspicuous by the height of its spire :

'Anno 1336 Sir John Paltney the fourth time Lord Maior, he built a Chappell in Paul^s, where he lyes buried : he also built Saint Laurence Paltney Church and the Church of little Alhalowes . . . besides many other deeds of Charity. Many of these men did good and charitable deeds but they did them secretly in their liues time.'⁴

The above-mentioned Chapel is, presumably, the one alluded to in Starkey's *Letters*.

'He [*i.e.* Thos. Starkey] had been named on the 30th Dec. 1536 to the Collegiate Chapel of Corpus Christi in connection with the Church of St. Laurence, Candlewick Street.'⁵

¹ *Annals of the Reformation*.

² Trussel, *Continuation of Daniel's History* (1636), Henry VI, p. 158.

³ 1592. ² *Henry VI* (1623), p. 141.

⁴ *Works* (1630), p. 55.

⁵ E.E.T.S., p. lxiiij.

The Church is briefly alluded to in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*:

'The Duke being at the Rose, within the Parish of Saint Laurence Poultny.'¹

At the Government inquiry in the year after the Great Fire, an eye-witness gave evidence of supposed incendiarism:

'I saw the Fire break out from the inside of Lawrence Pountney Steeple, when there was no fire near it.'²

Stow records of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin in Aldermanbury that it is 'A Fayre Church' (his favourite expression) 'with a Churchyeard and cloyster adjoyning, in the which cloyster is hanged and fastned a shanke bone of a man (as it is said) very great and larger by three inches and a half then that which hangeth in St. Laurence Church in the Jury, for it is in length 28 inches and a halfe of assise.'³

The Church of Stow's time has disappeared but the churchyard of to-day gives us a reminiscence of a man greater by many inches than the Citizens of his own or any other time, being no other than William Shakespeare. There is a memorial tablet to John Heminge and Henry Condell who, to quote the inscription, are called

'Fellow Actors and personal friends of Shakespeare. They lived many years in this Parish and are buried here. To their disinterested affection the world owes all that is called Shakespeare. They alone collected the dramatic writings regardless of pecuniary cost.'

The importance of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623 which Heminge and Condell published, a representation of which is sculptured on the memorial, cannot be over-rated, as in the case of some of the plays therein printed no copies are elsewhere extant. The text of the book, as we know, has been the source of some curious literary excursions, but it is considered of so much value to students that it has been facsimiled several times.

¹ (1623) I ij.

² *Somers Tracts*, 4th Collection, vol. ii p. 15.

³ Stow's *Survey* (1603), p. 295.

The small and not important Church of St. Antholin has frequent mention. The Church, which in our own day has been removed, stood in Budge Row. The name of St. Anthony was corrupted to Antholin, and moreover abbreviated in familiar dialogue to 'Antling.' The Church owed its reputation to vigorous Protestantism and sermons in the early hours of the morning, announced by bell-ringing. In fact St. Antling's bell was a byeword. Henry Machyn's Diary (1559) records the commencement of these sermons. The date is noticeable, being the second year of Queen Elizabeth. In the previous reign they would not have been tolerated.

'The — day of Sept be-gane the new mornyng prayer at Sant Antholyns in Boge-Row, after Geneve fassyon. The Bells begyne to ryng at V in the mornyng, men and women all do syng and boys.'¹

In the *Roaring Girl* we read :

'Sh'as a tongue will be heard furthur in a morning than St. Antlings bell.'²

In another play :

'She will outpray a Preacher in St. Antlin's and divides the day in exercise.'³

and in Brome's *The Damoysele* :

'We'll find Lecture times
Or baulk St. Antlins for't the while.'⁴

It would appear that the women are talking of attending lectures by a certain 'Damoysele' that professeth the teaching of Court carriage and behaviour.

In Cartwright's *The Ordinary* :

'We shall grow famous, have all sorts repair
As duly to us as the barren wives
Of aged Citizens do to St. Antholins.'⁵

¹ *Diary of H. Machyn*, 1550-63.

² Middleton and Rowley (1611), II. i.

³ Jasper Mayne, *City Match* (1639), III. v.

⁴ *The Damoysele* (1653), III. ii. ⁵ (1651) I. iv.

It is rather curious to note that the two last mentioned plays were published only a few years before the Restoration, at a time when all play-acting was prohibited, but we are not surprised to find in 1661 a different note struck in *The Presbyterian Lash*, which was something in the nature of a play :

‘ Your own time is so extreemely taken up in preparing and fitting yourself to cart forth sedition at St. Antholins.’

The words are addressed in the dedication to Zach. Noctroffe, a hypocritical preacher who got into trouble for chastising his maidservant with a birch.¹

It is of interest to note that in the play of *The Puritan Widow*² two of the characters, serving men, are respectively named ‘ Nicholas St. Antlings and Simon St. Mary Overies,’ another instance of naming foundlings after the parish.

The early preachings were supported by a trust fund which still exists and produces over 500*l.* per annum, administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Church being removed—a tablet marks the spot—the sermons are preached elsewhere. The memorial now placed on the site has a sculpture in relief of the last church, which was built by Wren the year after the Fire.

Sir Hugh Myddelton, the founder of the New River Company, was buried in St. Matthew’s, Friday Street, in 1631. In 1636 Henry Burton, having been deprived of his Benefice, printed his Appeal to the King (Charles I) and *An Epistle to the true-hearted Nobility*. It seems he had preached against certain innovations in Church ornaments and ritual which he considered Popish and against certain alterations in the Prayer Book which were adverse to Puritan teaching. Among other things he complained that words had been added in the Service for November 5, so that the prayer read that the Magistrates of the Land might have

¹ *Presbyterian Lash* (1661), p. 1.

² 1607. At one time attributed to Shakespeare.

'judgement and justice to cutte of these workers of iniquity
who turne religion into rebellion and faith into faction.'

He complains that the name of 'the Lady Elizabeth your Majesties only sister was omitted in the Prayer. Also the Prayers for the Navy and for seasonable weather.'

The Churchyard, or part of it, remains, but is surrounded by houses.

The Parish Church of Christ Church, Newgate Street, reminds us of the ancient settlement here of the Franciscans or Grey Friars. What happened at the Dissolution is thus described by Sir G. Buck in his *Third Universitie* :

'The Monasterie of the Franciscans or Gray Friars, nowe called Christ Church in Newgate Market, escaped the fury by the protection and mediation of what good Angell incarnate I know not . . . and the King shortly after An. Dom. 1546 gave this house and the Church to the Cittie to be employed to pious and charitable uses whereupon the magistrates of the Cittie faithfully and religiously conuerted the Church into a parrish Church and the lodgings into an Hospitall and Grammar Schoole.'¹

This was some years after the suppression of the priory, which Lord Herbert of Cherbury puts at not long after 1532, adding that the Canons were distributed into 'other houses of that kind,' and the 'Church Plate and Lands bestowed on Sir Thomas Audeley, newly made Lord Chancellour'²; but Fuller in his *Holy State* ascribes this donation, which was the foundation of Christ's Hospital or the Blue Coat School, to Edward VI, and puts it down to the persuasive power of Ridley's eloquence in the pulpit.

'Ridley was very gracious with King Edward VI and by a sermon he preached before him so wrought upon his pious disposition . . . that the King at his motion gave to the City of London Grayfriars now called Christ Church for impotent, fatherless decrepid people by age or nature, to be educated or maintained.'³

¹ Sir G. Buck, *Third Universitie* (1615), chap. 34.

² *Life of Henry VIII* (1649), p. 343.

³ Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State* (1642), lxxvi.

Machyn in his Diary has a record of a miracle play performed in this Church :

‘ The same day (June 7, 1557) be-gane a Stage Play at the Grey freers of the Passyon of Cryst.’¹

In the Verney Papers we find a note that Venetia wife of Sir Kenelm Digby is here buried :

‘ Her husband tried to preserve her beauty by cosmetics and after her death had her bust of copper-gilt set up in the Church. The bust was injured in the fire and was afterwards seen in a broker’s stall. She was painted by Vandyke.’²

St. Mary Woolchurch formerly stood near the Stocks Market which was on the site of the present Mansion House. Stow writes that it was so called ‘ of a beam pliced in the Church yeard, which was therefore called Wool Church Haw, of the Tronage, or weighing of Woll there used.’³

Outside the Church was an equestrian statue of King Charles II. The statue of Charles I stood and still stands at Charing Cross. In a poem of Marvell’s a dialogue is supposed to take place between the two horses in the absence of their riders, and the decadence of the times is discussed. The Woolchurch horse has a liking for Cromwell :

‘ I freely declare it, I am for old Noll :
Though his government did a tyrant’s resemble
He made England great and his enemies tremble.’

But Elizabeth was the favourite with Charles I’s steed :

‘ Ah Tudor. Ah Tudor, of Stuarts enough,
None ever reigned like old Bess in the ruff.’⁴

The statue (Charles II) was originally made to represent John Sobieski, King of Poland. The City wanting to shew

¹ *Machyn’s Diary*, p. 138. The subject was frequently used and the play was possibly much the same as the *Christ’s Passion* of G. Sandys in the next century (1640), the source being from the Greek of Apollinarius of Laodicea.

² *Verney Papers*, 1633 (1853), p. 153.

³ *Survey* (1603), p. 227.

⁴ 1674. *A Dialogue between Two Horses* (1870), p. 168.

their loyalty bought it up at a low price and converted the Polander into a Briton and the Turk underneath his horse into Oliver Cromwell. So the story runs.

Near by is St. Mary Wolnoth, or 'Sainte Marie of the Nativitie.' The will of Sir Martin Baves 1565 provided that he was to be buried in the 'highe quier of this Church.' He left 'forty pounds to be distributed among poor householders upon the day that he shall be in peril of death, whilst yet alive and before the bell toll.' Also 'to the Goldsmiths' Company the sum of thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence to pay for an honest dinner for them at the Goldsmiths' Hall on the day of his burial.'¹ In the Register of Baptisms, November 6, 1558, is the name of Thomas Kyd, the author of the *Spanish Tragedy*. He is described as 'Son of Francis Kidd, Citizen and Writer of the Courte Letter of London.'

In St. Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, a small portion of the churchyard of the Church of St. Nicholas Acons may still be seen. The Church has disappeared. The name Acon or Hakon is probably from an early benefactor. The will of a Parishioner gives the market price of sermons in the year 1548. Thirteen sermons were to be preached on as many Sundays next after his burial, to be paid for at the rate of six shillings and eight pence each.² The deceased was a draper; not a lawyer. In 1673 the Register records the Baptism of 'John Nicholas a foundling Child taken up at the Syghen of the Hatt.' In recording the place of burial of a Parishioner, 'Under his pew doore' is a frequent entry in the Register.

St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, possessed five of the eight bells formerly belonging to the Priory of Holy Trinity. In a tract of 1643 we read of the funeral here of Sir Richard Wiseman, who it seems had been accidentally killed when offering to lead the rabble who were attacking the Abbey :

'His corps was carried to St. Stephens Church in Coleman Street and buried according to a new Church Government lately

¹ *Cal. of Wills*, Court of Hustings, ii 695.

² *Calendar of Wills*, Court of Hustings, Pt. ii 655.

enacted in a Conventicle of Schismatics, being accompanied with at least 500 Antick Bishops . . . with their swords, mourning cloaks and black ribands.' ¹

A broadside of 1641, called *London's Teares*, gives rather a different account. Sir Richard is said to have been murdered by Rascals in Westminster Hall. The procession to the City was composed of '200 apprentices.'

The old Church of St. Stephen's Walbrook stood on the west side of Walbrook according to Stow 'nearer the Brooke, euen on the Banke,' but had been newly erected on the east side. It is this Church of which Howes, a continuator of Stow in 1615, writes :

'But above all the Churches in London St. Stephens in Wallbrooke was trimmed most curiously and Church-like, for all the decayed windows were pleasantly repaired with new coulloured Glasse.'

The Church of St. Martin in the Vintry was, according to Stow,² 'newly builded about the year 1399 by the executors of Mathew Columbars, a stranger borne, a Burdeaux Marchant of Gascoyne and French wines.'

The neighbourhood seemed to be dedicated to the wine trade and the Hall of the Vintners Company was and is still there. The legend of the Saint dividing his cloak with a beggar is a cherished tradition with the Vintners, and Cloak Lane adjacent is probably a reminiscence of the story. Why the Saint was selected as Patron of the Company does not appear. Pennant suggests that perhaps 'it was imagined that actuated by good wine, he had been inspired with good thoughts which, according to the arguments of Jas. Howel, producing good works, brought a man to heaven.' The Church was not rebuilt after the Fire.

IX

References to Churches naturally induce some thoughts of their Parsons, Curates, Vicars, or Rectors, and more especially of the trying ordeal they passed through between

¹ *The Distraction of these Times*, p. 4.

² Stow, *Survey* (1603), p. 249.

the years 1641 to 1647 when the greater number were deprived of their livings. In a few cases really serious offences were alleged of a criminal character ; but in most it was sufficient cause for deprivation to be a Malignant against the Parliament or an enemy to frequent preaching. The ' *Odium Theologicum* ' was intense. It is instructive to collate two publications of 1647. One was issued by the Church Party in the form of a Broadside entitled :

' A Generall Bill of Mortality of the Clergie of London which have been defunct by reason of the contagious breath of the Sectaries of that City from the yeere 1641 to 1647. . . . A brief Martyrologie of the learned Grave Religious and Painfull Ministers of the City of London who have been imprisoned, plundered, barbarously used and deprived of all livelihood &c.' ¹

This was answered by a Tract signed J. V., dated 1647 and called :

' A succinct Traiterologie in answer to a lying Martyrologie and Catalogue of the Gracelesse and Godlesse lazie Levites and proud Prelatical Priests of the City of London . . . who have been justly imprisoned and deprived of their Estates.' ¹

In each Document a list is given of deprivations with the reason and the result. Three specimens will suffice.

St. Margaret's, Lothbury. The *Martyrologie* has :

' M. Tabor, plundered, imprisoned in the King's Bench, his wife and children turned out of doors at midnight and he sequestered.'

The *Traiterologie* has :

' M. Tabor of Margaret Lothbury sequestered for being a most popishly affected ceremony-monger, a proud pontifician enemy to frequent preaching and a most desperate malignant against the Parliament.'

As to St. Clement's, Eastcheap, the *Martyrologie* has :

' M. Stone shamefully abus'd ; sequester'd, sent prisoner to Plymouth and plundered.'

¹ From the Originals in the British Museum.

The *Traiterologie* has :

'M. Stone of Clement Eastcheap sequestred for being a notorious stoney-hearted proud and rotten-hearted pontifical Ceremony-monger, a Popish apostate of a general infamous life and desperate malignant.'

As to St. Augustine's (the Church in Old Change) the *Traiterologie* has :

'Mr. Udall sequestred for making and maintaining most proudly and presumptuously a wicked book intituled "Noli me Tangere," wherein he aspersed the Parliament.'

The *Martyrologie* has :

'Mr. Udall sequestred, his Bed-rid wife turned out of doors and left in the street.'

In the cases of Clergymen dying from hardships suffered the *Traiterologie* has marginal notes 'Died of Malignancy.' It is curious to note that sixty years earlier, *viz.* in 1586, a Clergyman bearing the name of Udall was prosecuted for his hostility to Episcopacy.

WILBERFORCE JENKINSON.

ART. V.—THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE ENGLISH CHARACTER.

Mankind and the Church. Edited by the Right Rev. H. H. MONTGOMERY. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. Ltd. 1907.)

And other contemporary literature.

WHEN the history of the present War comes to be written, perhaps some fifty years hence, the attitude of the historian will be very different from our own. Where we see 'the trees,' he will see 'the wood.' Where we see a confused tangle of events, he will see the big working of cause and effect, and distinct lines of tendency. Where we see

material and tangible results, he will see great moral and spiritual forces behind them. And among these forces, he will doubtless observe that one of the greatest is national character, and more especially the English character.

What a bundle of anomalies¹ that character seems to be : so much in earnest and yet apparently so careless, so worldly and yet so unworldly, so matter of fact and yet so chivalrous, so illogical and yet so successful, so firm in the handling of subject races and yet so much revered, so often apparently on the verge of failure and yet 'muddling through,' we ourselves can scarcely say how !

A short extract from an article in the *St. Louis Republic*, as given in the *Daily Chronicle* of December 24, 1914, may not be out of place here. The article is all the more remarkable inasmuch as St. Louis contains a very large proportion of people of German birth or origin. In the State of Missouri, of which St. Louis is the chief city, 49 per cent. of the population are actually of German birth.

'Whenever Germany and France, with their highly centralized and logically wrought out Governments, have contemplated the fabric known as the British Empire they have smiled smiles of disdain.

'This fearful and wonderful fabric has no central body. There is no "Bundesrath" or Imperial Council. No collective action of its units is possible. The relation to them of the mother country is illogical, ill-defined. To the foreigner accustomed to the federation of the American States or of the units of the German Empire the Government looks planless and ineffective.

'All of which is preliminary to the observation that there is not at the present moment any more effective institution in the whole world of political fabrics than the British Empire. Whatever its machinery lacks appears to be supplied by its

¹ Some most interesting points of resemblance may be found between the English and the Athenian character, as described by Pericles (Thuc. ii. 38-41): the love of games and amusements ; the passion for foreign novelties ; the extreme openness of life and publicity of methods ; the light-hearted 'casual' way of entering on war ; the readiness to confer rather than receive benefits ; and the sense of latent power which underlies the national life.

spirit. The defects of its body are made up for by the unity of its soul.

‘The fact cannot be gainsaid that England, who does not begin to be as logical as Germany or as systematic as France in matters of government, has nevertheless the knack of making men step out of their own free will to die in her defence. She has the gift of keeping alive, across tumbling seas round half a world, the undying bond that unites the heart to home. She has shown herself indifferent to the possession of the taxing power over her colonies—but what matters it? Those colonies willingly tax themselves to send her warships, and their sons seize their rifles in time of strife to go to her aid. She has the wisdom so to train and guide the swarthy children of alien races, and even the foes of yesteryear, that they put their living bodies between England and England’s enemies. She has a fearfully muddled theory of government, but her practice of government lays hold on the deepest things in the soul of man.’

Perhaps, before endeavouring to analyse the English character, we may think a little of the antecedents which have helped to produce it. We may first notice the geographical aspect of England. She has about as much coastline as it is possible for any country of her size to have; in other words she is bound to be an active, maritime nation. Nature has been generous to her in rich supplies of oak timber for ship-building, and, in due time, of iron and coal for steam-vessels. Her area is large enough to afford sustenance for her inhabitants while her population only consists of a few millions, but quite inadequate for a rapidly growing population. She may be said to be ‘in Europe, but not of it.’ That precious twenty-two miles of salt water between Dover and Calais has been sufficient to preserve her individuality, but not too great to allow of her commerce with the world at large. Again, let us consider our climate. It is nothing if not versatile. A few hours may bring us a total change of temperature. We not unfrequently have wintry conditions in June and lovely balmy days in February. The American who said ‘England had no climate, but only samples of weather’ was not very far wrong.

It has long been a favourite theory with the present

writer that Shakespeare, who reflects *par excellence* the English character, could never have been so great a dramatist had it not been for the English climate. The whimsical changes of his favourite month of April, the rapid shiftings of light and shade, the sudden gleams amid the purple clouds, all the countless freaks and surprises which Nature has in store for the Englishman, seem to find themselves reflected in Shakespeare's pages ; and besides that, there is generated in the English character that adaptability, that instinct for making the best of things as they are, that strong ineradicable sense of humour and elasticity of spirit, which makes him so good a colonist, and so resourceful a soldier.

Again, if we look at the map of our country, we shall see that it consists of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Here too we have fresh elements of variety. The Highland Scots, the Irish, the Welsh have all their strongly marked characteristics ; the Scots Lowlanders and the English Borderers have their own vigorous and independent types, while the infusion of Scandinavian blood in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the large Danish Settlements in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire bring other and valuable contributions to the Anglo-Saxon folk of Midland and Southern England ; while Devonshire and Cornwall again offer racial characteristics more akin to those of Wales and Brittany.

If we look through a Clergy List, or an Army List, we shall see in the surnames of the various members of the professions specimens of all these races, and we shall also see an important sprinkling of names, few but influential, derived from Huguenot sources, and due to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of course, a good many recent importations from France, Italy, and especially Germany. Nor must the Jewish element be overlooked. We have left to the last the most important things of all—the Roman occupation which stratified England, and to a certain extent made the country civilized and habitable, besides paving the way for the work of Christian missionaries ; and the Norman Conquest, which not only brought England

under one powerful ruler, but gave her grand cathedrals, and castles and monasteries, and brought her into contact (through France) with Latin civilization, and has left, as we know, indelible traces on her language and manners. The English character is, in fact, very like Corinthian brass, a composite mass in which many valuable metals are melted together; or we may compare it to a diamond cut into a number of facets, every one of which responds to a different ray of light. Insular as the Englishman is said to be, his human sympathies are unusually wide. His instinctive attitude to outsiders is a kindly one. He has earned the undying gratitude of the Jewish race. He may call black or brown men 'poor beggars,' he may look upon them as a sort of grown-up children; but he is, as a rule, wonderfully forbearing with them, and this is as true of the humblest private soldier as it is of his superiors. The extraordinary unselfishness and kindness of some of our 'Tommies' is indeed a thing to be proud of. There is a delightful story of Mrs. Steel's, *In the Permanent Way*, which tells us how a pertinacious fakir *would* sit on the very line of a newly made Indian railway, and how every day a good-natured Englishman stopped the train, gently lifted the fakir from his place, and went on, time after time, without doing him any injury, and finally died holding him in his arms. Some other Europeans who shall be nameless would probably have made much shorter work of the unfortunate fakir!

This elasticity and adaptability of the English character is curiously combined with a very strong sense of individuality, and love of freedom. The Englishman, unconsciously acting on Bacon's principle, studies his surroundings, human or otherwise, and sees how they best can be turned to account, not by force or constraint, but by (so far as possible) sympathetic treatment. When he finds it absolutely necessary to put his foot down, he does it firmly, as in the case of suttee in India; but on the whole he is a very tolerant master and rides his steed 'on the snaffle' rather than the curb. Consequently, as the present War is shewing us, he wins the affection and

confidence of subject or partially dependent races in a very remarkable way. He is—on the whole—fair, firm and just, and truthful : he seldom goes back from his word, or vacillates in his purpose ; and it is this extraordinary combination of constancy of purpose with rapidity of resource and adaptability of means that makes for success in his undertakings. ‘ The French ’ (one of his German foes is lately reported to have said) ‘ go back. The English never go back.’

Obviously, the Englishman is no *doctrinaire*. He is never the slave of a theory or a system. He is not always able to say why he does things, but on the whole his instincts seem to guide him aright. Life is for him one long illustration of the saying ‘ solvitur ambulando.’ In 1850 when the Great Exhibition building was being erected, a large and magnificent elm-tree seemed to stand in the way. It was too high for the roof proposed. In Germany, and possibly in France, that tree would have been hewn ruthlessly down ; in England the architect, Sir Joseph Paxton, set to work and designed the beautiful coved roof, so familiar to all Londoners, to embrace and shelter its lordly growth. That little tribute to Nature in the midst of a palace of art and commerce, how thoroughly English it is ! Our very difficulties have sometimes become our opportunities.

But when we attempt to generalize about the Englishman, we must remember that there is hardly any country in which class-distinctions count for more than in England, though they are outwardly becoming less and less manifest every year. What is the origin of this undoubted cleavage between classes which almost has the same effect as that of differing nationality ? Should we be wrong in dating it from the Norman Conquest ? It would be absurd to insist on the Norman descent of many of our nobility and gentry in the present day ; but if we go back to the time when Norman French was the language of the court, and when the King (like some of his Hanoverian successors) literally could not understand the vulgar tongue of his English subjects, we shall see that the class-difference has

been much accentuated by the difference of race. In the same way the traditions of personal bravery, the comparative refinement of manners, the chivalrous attitude towards the weaker sex (though we cannot forget the tragedy of Joan of Arc), are characteristics of the English gentleman of all classes for which we may, partly at least, thank our Norman inheritance. That the Teutonic blood, much less mixed than our own, is lacking in some of these elements, seems to be shewn by some cases of hideous maltreatment of women in the present war ; and this is rather curious when we remember how Tacitus speaks of the reverence paid to women by the ancient Germans.

Throughout English history and literature, we see appearing at intervals this lofty character of the English gentleman. We see it (despite some regrettable cruelties) in Edward the Black Prince, in the Earl of Surrey, in Sir Thomas More, Sir Philip Sidney, in Sir Henry Wotton, in many of the Cavaliers, in Falkland, in John Evelyn, in William Pitt and others of his day, in the brave generals who served with Wellington, and in some of our great Anglo-Indians, and not least in men like the late Lord Roberts. In fiction he appears as the 'very perfect gentle knight' of Chaucer, as the Red Cross Knight of Spenser ; in Shakespeare he is sometimes Bassanio, sometimes Orlando, sometimes Horatio, and is to be found under many other names. His spirit breathes in the songs of Lovelace and Montrose (though the latter was a Scotchman !). Sometimes we call him Sir Roger de Coverley, sometimes (not without a smile) Sir Charles Grandison. Sometimes he is Guy Mannering, sometimes Thomas Newcome. Even Dickens, when he drew a caricature of him in Sir Leicester Dedlock, could not withhold a tribute to his upright, chivalrous and affectionate nature. In one shape or another he is the ideal of every well-nurtured English lad, not only of his own class, but of those below him. When we meet with such men in real life we see how their character and tone and bearing tell on their servants, their employés, and all with whom they have to do. The same things may, of course, be said of the women who belong to them ; but to pursue that subject

would lead us too far afield. The high breeding of the English gentleman, coupled as it happily often is with modesty and a perfect hatred of self-display, is one of the greatest glories of our country, as it is one of her most valuable possessions. Who can say what that last visit of Lord Roberts to 'the Front' may have been worth to us in kindling the loyalty both of English and Indian soldiers? After all, personality is more potent than Krupp guns, bombs or Zeppelins, and thank God it is with us in England yet. Perhaps we may be allowed to refer to the delightful story recently reported of the German prisoner who said to the Englishman 'After all, it will always be the same. You will always be fools; and *we* shall never be gentlemen.'

If we begin to inquire what are the forces that go to the making of an English gentleman, we say at the outset, good birth and home influence; then good food, plenty of out-of-door life, the public schools with their games and their *esprit de corps*. Alas, they have their drawbacks and their temptations, but when the home has been good we may trust that the growing lad will be able to overcome them.

There is no doubt that whether the immortal saying about Waterloo and the playing fields of Eton was ever really uttered or not, there is a great truth behind it. The instinct for 'playing the game' of which Sir Henry Newbolt delightfully sings has been constantly at work with the high-spirited young officers, many of whom we are mourning to-day. It is one of the privileges of the 'gentleman' that he really plays in school and college games with his heart and soul and limbs. If it could be made possible for all English boys to play games as is done by the more fortunate of them, it would have an excellent effect both on their *moral* and on the recruiting lists. It is not in levelling down but in levelling up, in giving a better chance to the less fortunate boys and girls that the way of progress lies.

In speaking of the universities and public schools we must also bear in mind that they bring out in men of every class many of the best qualities of the gentleman. The

habit of associating with a man's superiors in character, in intellectual or physical powers, or in breeding, just at the time when his mind and manners are still in a plastic state, has a most beneficial effect. To take for granted that a man is a gentleman, and treat him as such, is more than half way to making him one. Of course, there are in all ranks of life men and women who are incurably vulgar, just as there are many, very many, 'Nature's gentlemen and gentlewomen.' But the ordinary everyday person is very much affected by atmosphere and surroundings; and our experience of women's higher education tends to shew us that this is no less true of women than of men.

But now let us approach the main subject of this article, and consider how far the Church has had her share in making the English character what it is. It is sometimes said that the Church of England is the Church of the educated and privileged class. It is difficult to generalize in these matters, and no doubt a well-worked parish in any crowded centre of population would shew us that the Church only needs to be properly presented to the masses to be greatly loved and prized by them; but take England all round, and still more if we look at Canada, America or Australia, we shall see that the Church does not find it easy to hold her own.

Take the case of the ordinary Thomas Atkins and of his wife. What are they, and such as they, to make of the Bible and Prayer Book? The magnificent Elizabethan diction, which is a delight to the cultured ear and mind, is almost like a foreign language to them. If such a man opens his Prayer Book at the Collects, the words Christmas, Good Friday, Easter and Whitsuntide seem familiar to him, and so, we will hope, are the great root-ideas which underlie them. But what is he to make of such words as Epiphany, or Quinquagesima, or Rogation days? What is the meaning of that long couple of pages headed *Quicunque vult*? The Prayer Book is certainly bristling with difficulties. And there must be large portions of the Bible—Leviticus, Amos, Hosea, Ezekiel, Zechariah and the Epistle to the Romans—which he probably never *attempts* to understand.

A few of the Psalms, the Gospels, Genesis, Job, the Books of Samuel etc., and—strange to say—the Book of Revelation doubtless come home to him. But it really is not much to be wondered at that he forsakes the Church, which speaks to him in an almost unknown tongue, and drifts. The alternative to many is not so much irreligion as indifference ; many on the other hand are attracted by the familiar phraseology and the individualistic appeal of the ‘meeting’ or ‘chapel,’ and by its rough but popular hymnology. Here, too, there is a danger which many Nonconformists recognize—on the one hand, the coarsening, impoverishment, and vulgarization of religion, where the uneducated are concerned ; and the cold, dry, unspiritual and latitudinarian theology which Germany and Holland often appear to foster, and from which neither England nor Scotland is wholly free. Far be it from us to disparage protestant Nonconformity. What England would have been without Wesleyanism it were best not to inquire, and the Presbyterianism of Scotland has produced, in both sexes, some of the finest characters in history and private life that the world has ever seen. The Church of England has something to learn from it, even if she has much to give. But, when all has been said, the Anglican Church has an unapproachable glory of her own in moulding characters and in training human lives. The English gentleman is what he is, to a great extent because she has ruled over his home, his boyhood and his adolescence. She has taught him reverence for authority without crushing his independence of spirit ; she has coloured his whole life by her sacramental teaching, her round of Christian seasons, her beautiful liturgy, her exquisite ‘occasional services,’ and that large use of Holy Scripture in which she predominates over all other Churches. She has shewn him religion in its nobility, its historical setting, its dignity, its honesty, its purity, and its intensity. While other bodies may depend more or less on the individual minister, it is the glory of the Church that she is greater than any of her ministers.

‘The form remains, the function never dies.’

Are we then to say that the Church of England is, after all, the Church of a class? Certainly not; though that class would not be what it is but for her ennobling influence. But we think it is true that though the ideal held up by the Church is too often unrealized, yet it would be a great loss to us all if that ideal ceased to exist. *Plus ultra* should be the motto of every progressive human being. Just in proportion as people are trained and educated and civilized, just in proportion as they feel the narrowness, inadequacy, and imperfection of their old religious surroundings, they tend either to become (which Heaven forbid) indifferent or agnostic, or else just in that proportion they respond to the appeal of a religion which, while it does not, like Romanism, fly in the face of their intellectual progress, does not only seem commensurate with their intellectual progress but still continues to soar above it; while, as their sense of beauty, of order, of catholicity develops, it finds a response in the time-honoured and exquisite structure, which is to the spiritual sense what some noble old historic cathedral is to the bodily eye.

One great 'note' of the true religion must always be its appeal to the sense of the Infinite in the soul of man. Of our religious progress we may say—in the poet's words, though in a wider sense,

'Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise.'

This thought is beautifully expanded by Browning in his poem *Easter Day*. Now it has been always the strength of the Church of England that she responds to the needs of the growing and developing human mind, and that she has the power, when true to herself, of raising those with whom she comes into contact. We may say that the Church of England is very like her noblest poetry. Our greatest poets in their highest moods will never be popular. A foolish music-hall song has for its little day incalculably more vogue than *Paradise Lost*—but what would the greatest minds of our country have been without our highest poetry? It is surely a 'note of the true Church' that she has nothing vulgar or petty or mean

or ephemeral about her, and that she possesses the power of appealing not only to humble and simple hearts but to men of the highest intellect and the finest culture. As Lord Bacon said, long ago : ' It is an assured truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind of man to atheism, but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind back to religion.' ¹ But the religion to which a man is brought back is not the religion of the childish or the half-educated. His religion must be commensurate with his intellectual progress, and must not offend his cultivated taste. It must respond to his awakened sense of the highest beauty. It must find room for the metaphysical, the historical, the poetical side of his nature. Now this is what the Church of England—more than any other Church in the world—is able to do. The most masculine minds are found responsive to her creed, her liturgy, her theology. Many of us, in mature life or in old age, go back to our childish loves. Natural beauty, sunshine, simple primitive poetry, old songs and ballads, and fairy tales, the loving atmosphere of home—these and such things as these appeal to us more and more as Life draws to its close. But we do not want our nursery toys. The moon looks as magically beautiful as ever, the flowers amaze us with their rich and varied loveliness. We are like children in many ways : but we do not want the dolls and drums and tin soldiers of childhood. It is just so with the religion of mature minds. We want what is real and lasting and beautiful and true. Mere religious claptrap disgusts us. We do not feel stirred or comforted by shallow tracts and poor hymns, nor (in fairness it must be added) by the externals of ' popular ' ritualism. Bishop Montgomery in the admirable work mentioned above speaks of the reserve of the Englishman in spiritual matters (p. xxvii).

' A characteristic note of our race is reticence in attitude, speech and gesture. . . . Some express reverence best by an attitude frozen into a statue by the realization of the Divine

¹ Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, Book i.

Presence, and they abhor all genuflections or movements. . . . Others delight in motion, colour, postures, varied vestments. . . . At the same time, and upon the whole, I believe that our own worship as a race will be characterized by a ritual which is sterner and more reticent than either that of the Latin or the East.'

And this reminds us of another characteristic of the Anglican Church, concerning which it is difficult to say whether it is an outcome of the English character or whether the English character has been partly due to it: we mean its two-sidedness, which seems to correspond with what may be roughly called the Latin and the Teutonic, the Catholic and the Protestant, the ecclesiastical and the individualistic elements in our nature. It is the glory of the English character, and it is the merit of the English language, never to lose sight of either of these elements. Our language is an exquisite balance of Latin and Teutonic words. Take the first words of the General Confession. 'Almighty and most *merciful* Father, we have *erred* and *strayed* from Thy ways like lost sheep.' How entirely at home the three words we have italicized find themselves among their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, and what music and beauty they lend to the sentence! That our Prayer Book is one long series of compromises only makes it the more resemble our English constitution. But, as Bishop Montgomery has well reminded us, one large factor in the result was due not so much to reason or logic as to the delicate intuition—may we call it the prophetic insight?—of that extraordinary woman, Queen Elizabeth, the last sovereign of real English blood who ever sat on the English throne. She seemed a living exponent of that truly English temperament which has a kind of instinctive perception rather than a logical conviction of what ought to be done.¹ If women are supposed to be illogical, we may call her a woman amongst women. Yet, with all her glaring faults, follies, and inconsistencies she was a marvellous instrument

¹ 'Il n'y a rien de si conforme à la raison que ce désaveu de la raison' was the acute remark of Pascal (*Pensées*, iv. 272). The whole passage, of which this forms a part, is a most suggestive one.

in the hands of Providence, and she saved the English Church from both Romanist and Puritanical excess, while she raised the English nation from something very like exhaustion to a place among the leading nations of Europe which it never entirely forfeited.

‘For some time she [Queen Elizabeth] alone understood the difference between an English Church and an Anglican Church. Owing to her resolution, there was time for the lesson to be learned; and Laud was the first who fully apprehended its significance. To him the Church of England was not, as it had been to his predecessors, an arrangement for expressing the religious consciousness of the English people. It was a system instinct with life and full of mighty possibilities, with a world-wide mission peculiarly its own.’¹

Bishop Montgomery has spoken with great truth of the reserve and reticence of the Englishman in religious matters; and he adds:

‘But our tenderest sympathy for him must be in regard to his lack of vision. I do not believe he sees God easily. Partly it must be the effect of climate, for there really seems to be truth in the statement that the nearer you live to the Equator the easier it is to see God, and the further you live away from it the harder it becomes. So he, in common with other cold-climate races, though he has a strong sense of duty, has little vision of God. His Creator knows it is hard for him not to be an agnostic.’

This is quite true; but perhaps it somewhat overlooks the fact that though English *men* are much what the Bishop describes them, yet the description does not apply equally to English *women*, who to a certain extent help to redress the balance between righteousness (that truly English quality) and holiness which, as the Bishop says, is less common among men. It is a truism to say that English women are much more instinctively devout than their husbands and fathers. They have a stronger sense of the unseen world, and it is hardly too much to say that when nine

¹ Bishop Creighton, *Historical Lectures*, ‘Laud,’ (quoted here by Bishop Montgomery, p. xxix); and see also Bishop Creighton’s fascinating *Life of Queen Elizabeth*.

men out of ten become religious, or preserve the religion of their childhood, it is due to their mothers or their wives. If they think of angels at all they probably bear some good woman's lineaments. And perhaps we may say that our Church represents in some ways this feminine element, which, after all, plays an important part in human life. It does not over-define, it is not grotesquely logical, it leaves room for individual freedom; there is a practical good sense about it, a sympathy 'with [the personal life of every one of its members, and an avoidance of rigidity both as regarding faith or practice which corresponds with the elasticity of the English character. The Church may well be spoken of by the endearing name of 'Mother.' And yet there is something truly manly in the way in which she emphasizes the moral claim. In her Eucharistic Office, she places the Ten Commandments in the forefront¹ of the service, and in her Catechism (1549) she carefully explains them. The pregnant phrase with which that explanation concludes, 'To do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me,' may probably have been in the mind of Lord Nelson (himself the son of a clergyman) when his immortal signal was given; and the idea of duty has, as we all know, been—may it long continue to be!—the guiding star both of our soldiers and our sailors. To thousands this is one of many instances of indebtedness to the English Church, that great teacher of loyalty and of true patriotism. Once more, may we not thank God for a Church which prays day by day for our King and all in authority under him, which gives us special prayers 'for those at sea' and for the time of war, which teaches us—and when was the lesson more needed than now?—to pray for 'our enemies, persecutors and slanderers,' which includes in her Litany almost every form of human need, and still provides us in the Psalter with the most glorious songs of triumph?

One remark may be made in conclusion. In religion as in dealing with social questions do not let us 'level down,' but 'level up.' In seeking to adapt our forms of

¹ Second Book of Edward VI., 1552.

service to the popular needs of a new age let us see to it that we do it by the way of a real enrichment, not by making them poorer. Do not let us mutilate and vulgarize our Church, but let our Church teach us her own lessons of largeness and loftiness of soul, of thoroughness and accuracy in learning, of dignity and reverence, of truth and charity. We have derived a glorious heritage from the Past ; may it be ours to transmit it in its integrity and its purity to generations yet to come !

E. WORDSWORTH.

ART. VI.—CHRISTIAN MIRACLES.

1. *The Miracles of the New Testament.* By A. C. HEADLAM, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology, King's College, London. (London : John Murray. 1914.)
2. *The Miracles of Jesus.* By E. O. DAVIES, B.Sc. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1913.)
3. *Pro Fide.* By C. HARRIS, D.D., late Lecturer in Theology, Lampeter. New edition (London : John Murray. 1914.)
4. *Miracles and Christianity.* By J. WENDLAND, D. THEOL., Professor of Theology in Basel, tr. by H. R. MACKINTOSH. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.)
5. *Le Discernement du Miracle.* By P. SAINTYVES. (Paris : E. Nourry. 1909.)

And other works.

BIBLICAL criticism has so largely occupied the attention of English students of Divinity during the last twenty years that the study of dogmatic theology has been somewhat neglected. The text of the Gospels has been minutely examined. The mutual relations of the Synoptic Gospels, with the view of discovering, if it may be, the documentary sources from which they are derived, have been diligently studied. The historical value of each independent 'source'

of our knowledge of the earthly ministry of Christ has been weighed. But, when all this has been done, the great task of the Christian historian has only been begun. We must try to put our materials together. And the manner in which we write our history is largely determined by the presuppositions about God and man and nature with which we start. We cannot get away from the philosophical or metaphysical or theological postulates which we assume. An historian, for example, who does not believe in God, (if there be such a person) will necessarily interpret the life of Jesus in a quite different fashion from one who holds that His Mission was the expression of a Divine purpose.

In particular, the problem of Christian miracles has a philosophical as well as an historical aspect. It is of the highest importance that the historical evidence for these alleged events should be scrutinized with jealous care. And the sifting of historical material is a plain duty for every Christian historian. But the precise value that we attach to any particular statement that a 'miracle' has taken place depends, in large measure, upon the view which we take of the relation between God and the world. And the weakness, as it seems to some of us, of much of the literature on the subject of miracles which has been produced in England during the last decade is due to the circumstance that the writers have too often attempted to evade the philosophical and metaphysical problems which are involved, and have contented themselves with a survey of documents and an analysis of texts. This latter task has been very carefully and faithfully pursued. It is essential. But it is not enough by itself. When we speak of the possibility or probability of miracle, we are attempting to form an opinion as to the method of the Divine action in the process of the world, and this involves the deepest and most difficult of all the tasks which the human intellect can set itself. Such an inquiry cannot be settled offhand by the assertion that 'miracles do not happen.'

Some of the books which are named at the head of this article are a welcome indication that our theologians are alive to the necessity for a restatement of the Christian

doctrine of God in relation to the problem of miracle. Dr. Wendland's book, which Dr. Mackintosh of Edinburgh has translated for the benefit of English readers, is wholly concerned with the philosophy of its great subject. He hardly deals with the evidence for Christian miracles at all ; he is anxious to consider ' how the religious interpretation of things is related to exact science and philosophy.' Dr. Headlam in his valuable Moorhouse Lectures delivered in Australia devotes nearly half of his space to ' miracles and the order of nature,' ' miracles and God ' and the like. And Dr. Harris in the new edition of his most useful text-book of apologetics has fully recognized the importance of a philosophical basis for Christian belief. Such prolegomena to divinity cannot, indeed, be made very simple. That is probably one of the reasons why they are often neglected. It is certainly much easier to begin our study of the Gospels with the assumption that we must rule out any narrative to which we cannot find obvious analogies in our present experience, and thus to judge of the testimony of the Evangelists by the aid of what is called ' common-sense.' That is the short and easy method, but it does not lead to assured results.

It is a great merit, perhaps the greatest merit, of Dr. Headlam's book that he examines the problem of miracle in all its aspects, and that he brings before us plainly the gravity of the issue. In his interesting survey of the history of the controversies that have arisen within and without the Church in regard to this great matter, he shews how the various systems of philosophy that underlie the negative arguments of Spinoza, Hume, Strauss have been in turn quietly discarded, and that the mechanical view of nature is one which is no longer received by the leaders of science. It is beginning to be recognized that

' our intellectual conceptions of nature do not constitute or correspond with the whole of reality, but only formulate a particular knowledge which we can grasp at the moment or the particular aspect that we may require for our practical purpose.'

Probably, as he bids us remember, it is too soon to say what

is the permanent value of the philosophical teaching of Bergson, or to formulate its relation to Christian thought, but it is at any rate significant that Bergson recognizes to the full the doctrine of the contingency of the universe. As Dr. Harris puts it, Bergson 'regards reality as a process of continual change, in which the future is not completely determined by the past, and hence cannot be predicted even by a complete knowledge of it.' In Bergson's view, the process of evolution is to be compared, 'not to the unwinding of a roll of tapestry already woven, but rather to the weaving of an ever-new and ever-changing pattern upon a roll of plain material as it unwinds.' That is, he regards the evolution of the Cosmos as directed not by blind mechanism but by creative free will. From a quite different point of view Eucken maintains spiritual freedom and the supremacy of the inner life of man, in opposition to the crude materialism which used to be fashionable twenty years ago. This emphasis upon freedom is, I think, one of the most conspicuous features of recent philosophy.

Professor Wendland devotes a considerable part of his book to a development of the consequences of this principle.

'The modern conception of nature as a self-enclosed system, controlled by strict laws, and directing itself by a purely immanent order, is entirely lacking both in the Old Testament and the New. There, nature is completely under the control of the Divine will. And in my judgment, this is a view which holds true even for us to-day. For even if we have a stricter conception of natural law, yet nature as a whole is ultimately as inscrutable for us as for the ancients.'

And again, 'If the world is in living relationship to God, then God is perpetually at work in the world creatively.' This is the fundamental proposition of Christian Theism, and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain it completely, if we rule out the possibility of the miraculous. It is not easy to distinguish sharply between miracles and the 'providential' acts of God, or to recognize the possibility of a 'providential' ordering of the individual life while denying the possibility of those assertions of the Divine Power which we are accustomed to call miracles.

What then is a 'miracle'? Dr. Headlam offers a definition as follows :

'A miracle means really the supremacy of the spiritual forces of the world to an extraordinarily marked degree over the mere material.'

It is in the word 'extraordinarily' that the distinction between 'miracle' and 'providence' would, I take it, be found by Dr. Headlam ; but the significant matter is the place claimed for 'spiritual forces' in the world process. It is upon this point—the fact of freedom, human and divine—that all controversies about the miraculous converge, and until this is established, *cadit quaestio*.

Dr. Headlam is careful to distinguish between the various meanings which have been attached to the phrase 'laws of nature.' Science, as he shews by quotations from Huxley and others, knows nothing of immutable laws of nature. For science a law of nature is an empirical generalization from observed facts. If new facts are discovered which shew that the generalization was hasty or incomplete, then a new 'law' has to be formulated. As Huxley said once, if it were proved that Lazarus rose from the dead, that would not involve the violation of any law. It would only mean that previous generalizations about the finality of death had been inaccurate. This is a point upon which M. Saintyves in his treatise *Le Discernement du Miracle* has some interesting observations. The gist of his argument is that, in view of our ignorance of natural laws and their scope, we can never be certain that any alleged event is miraculous in the sense that natural law cannot account for it. 'Le miracle est indiscernable à la science'—that is his main thesis. He considers the scepticism of Hume as to the alleged cures at the tomb of the Abbé Paris as quite unreasonable from this point of view. We can never say with complete certainty that 'Nature could never have done this' until we know all that Nature has in her heart. And so to speak of 'violations of natural law' is hazardous, for nothing is 'violated' by the addition of a new fact to knowledge.

There is nothing new in any of these principles. They have been explained many times during many years, but they are not always borne in mind. What is novel and important in the present situation is the revolt against the dogmatism of science which is now apparent. Science has no better title to determine questions of philosophy or theology than theology has to determine questions of science. And while theology has learnt that it cannot decide on theological principles the age of the earth or the origin of species or the origin of language, science has learnt not only that religious experience is a fact like other facts, and that it must be reckoned with, but that the possibilities of experience are so vast and its actualities so astonishing that it is the part of unwisdom to reject all that cannot be reduced to formulae or weighed in the balances of the laboratory.

We have then to consider what the evidence is for the miracles of the Gospel. It is possible that some of them may be explained by the operation of natural laws not yet perfectly understood, or that others might not have seemed to us 'miraculous' had we been present, with our scientific equipment, to observe them. No doubt the Evangelists who recorded them were more prone to resort to a 'miraculous' explanation of any event than we are. All this may be freely granted. We have to admit, further, that 'the character of the Gospel narrative is not such as to enable us to be certain that every event took place exactly as it is reported. There are discrepancies in some cases between the narratives, which make us feel that neither account can be absolutely accurate.'¹ The recognition of facts such as these is the result of that candid and diligent study of the evangelical history which has been the chief task of the last generation of Christian scholars. It is not wise, to put it on the lowest ground, to shut our eyes to these conclusions which are shared by critics of every school. But it is important to observe also that by no process of analysis can we reach a primitive Gospel which does not tell of miracles. That is much clearer now than it was

¹ Headlam, *l.c.* p. 339.

twenty years ago, although even then there was not much doubt about it.¹ And Dr. Harris seems to me to say no more than the fact when he urges that to deny the 'miracles' of the Gospel story involves the discrediting of the narrative as a whole. They are closely interwoven with the texture of the history and cannot be disentangled from it.

'If the liberals are right in rejecting all the miracles and sayings of Jesus in the Gospels which do not agree with modern liberal views, then the correct conclusion to draw is not that of Harnack, that what remains is authentic history, but that of Drews, that what remains is myth.'²

But not only is it apparent on analysis that the original sources of the evangelical history contained narratives of a miraculous character. It is also generally admitted that these 'sources' are of earlier date than it used to be fashionable to claim. St. Mark's Gospel, either in its present form or in a form indistinguishable therefrom, is generally regarded as prior to the year 70 of our era. And the other documentary source of the Synoptic tradition, to which the convenient label Q is assigned, seems to be older still. As Professor Kirsopp Lake put it some years ago, 'It is probably not too much to say that every year after 50 A.D. is increasingly improbable for the production of Q.'³ And Q contained at any rate an account of the cure of the Centurion's Servant, and probably other miraculous matter as well. The sources, so far as we can trace them, of the miracle stories in the Gospels are of earlier date than used to be acknowledged by critical scholarship. The Fourth Gospel stands apart from the rest, and has many difficulties peculiar to itself. But when so independent a scholar as Dr. E. A. Abbott is found to write 'The Fourth Gospel, in spite of its poetic character, is closer to history than I had supposed,'⁴ it is plain that its records of miracle cannot be summarily dismissed as mere allegory.

¹ I venture to refer to my article 'Miracle' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii 389f.

² *De Fide*, p. xxix.

³ Quoted from *The Expositor* by Davies, *l.c.* p. 36.

⁴ *Diatessarica*, X. i. p. viii.

Mr. Davies has carefully examined the accounts in the Gospels of our Lord's miracles, and his work is fresh and interesting. Dr. Headlam's survey of the dates of the Gospels and the general character of their narratives seems to me to be an admirable piece of work, and to supply something that was needed. He takes a strong line about the Gospel according to St. Matthew, in which he will not allow that there is any tendency either to exaggerate the miraculous element or to edit his materials with a view to edification. Perhaps the matter is too complex to be disposed of in a few pages, and I am not sure that all scholars will agree with Dr. Headlam at this point, but he writes clearly and trenchantly. 'Critics are hard to please. If the author of the Gospel inserts a miraculous incident it shews a tendency to exaggerate; if he omits one it shews a tendency to set up ideas as to what Jesus ought to have done.'¹

The evidence, in short, of the documents for the miracles of our Lord has not been dissipated by the higher criticism of the Gospels. On the contrary, if it has been reduced at certain points, it has been strengthened at others; and it has become clear that by no effort of analysis can we reach a non-miraculous Christ. But the evidence will continue to affect men differently according to the philosophical presuppositions with which they approach it.

There is a curious illustration of this in Dr. Wendland's book, which is in many ways stimulating and useful, but of which it is not always easy to follow the reasoning. He sets out very fully, as we have seen, the doctrine of the transcendence of God, which must be combined with that of His immanence in any complete system of Christian theism. And the first part of his work contains solid argument for the Christian belief that miracles are possible, because nature is not a mere machine. But when he comes to concrete instances, he makes a qualifying statement which takes away the force of much that he has already urged. We cannot believe that water was turned into wine, or that loaves were multiplied, although

'in themselves even miracles of this kind are possible for Divine

¹ *l.c.* p. 211.

omnipotence. But the rest of our religious and historical experience shews that it is not in this way God is wont to deal with us. Hence it must remain doubtful whether God has ever wrought events of such a kind in the course of redeeming history.' ¹

And apparently—although this is not said explicitly—the article of the Creed which alleges the Lord's Birth from a Virgin would be set aside in like manner. I do not feel that I can reconcile this negative position with the positive philosophy which Dr. Wendland expounds so well. 'Faith is sure, and lives by the assurance, that at each moment God can open up a new future, not derivable from the present phase of the universe.' Quite so, but there would be no support or stimulus to faith if coupled with the conviction that God *can* do this we had also the conviction that He *will not* do anything of the sort, and that He *never has done* anything of the sort.

The line of reconciliation between 'miracle' and 'history' which Dr. Wendland proposes is not one along which many will be able to follow him, nor does it appear that it differs substantially from that which Ritschl suggested when he distinguished judgements of *value* from judgements of *fact*. The difficulty to most men of distinguishing truth from truth is insuperable, for truth is one. That cannot be true for science which is false for religion, nor can that be false for science which is true for religion. If the miracles of the Gospel do not seem to us to be accurately recorded, it is best to say so ; but it is only misleading and mischievous to claim them as 'miracles' if nothing really happened that was out of the ordinary course of things.

But I am not attempting here to write anything fresh on this great question. I am glad to have been given the opportunity of directing attention to Dr. Headlam's and Dr. Harris' books, because they seem to supply the kind of theological literature which it is important just now for our younger clergy to read and assimilate. Mr. Davies' treatise is also very welcome, and his 'study of the evidence' is

¹ *l.c.* p. 228.

written in plain and lucid fashion. The question of miracle has become rather specially prominent recently, and it would be very unfortunate if its discussion were treated as of secondary importance. A sane, well-balanced statement like that which Dr. Headlam has given us will do much to bring out the true significance of the miraculous in the Creed.

Dr. Harris has a sentence or two in his new Preface which I must quote.

‘It is often asserted that the surrender by the Church of the Christian miracles would make Christianity more easy to believe. That depends upon what is meant by Christianity. That *Unitarianism* has become much more easy to believe since it abandoned faith in the Gospel miracles is evident. It is in fact almost impossible for a man who has come to believe that Jesus was really born of a Virgin, really rose with His body from the tomb, and really ascended into heaven, to remain a Unitarian. But it is quite a different thing to assert that the Christianity of the Catholic Church, which affirms the Divinity of Christ, is more easy to believe if the miracles are abandoned. The contrary is the case.’

I believe that statement to be quite just. And I would add this to it. It will not be easier but harder to continue to believe in the efficacy of the Redemption of Christ, or in the grace which is offered in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, if the miracles which are narrated as part of His ministry on earth be explained away, and more particularly if His miraculous Resurrection be discredited. I do not deny that men are to be found in the Church who are able to combine high doctrine of the Atonement or the Sacraments with a disavowal of a miraculous Christ. Yet in the end, and for the mass of men, the Christ who is not miraculous, who did not rise from the dead, must be a Christ whose Death can be no more than an heroic example, and whose memory can be no more than an inspiration. But that is not the doctrine of the Cross and the Sacraments which has been the hope of the world.

JOHN OSSORY.

SIR W. M. RAMSAY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT AND
RECENT DISCOVERY.

The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament. By SIR W. M. RAMSAY. The 'James Sprunt Lectures' delivered at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1915.) 12s.

IN his most recent work Sir William Ramsay reviews the results of the discoveries with which his name is associated on the trustworthiness of the New Testament. He begins with a somewhat interesting autobiography, in which he describes his early ambitions to be a great scholar, the gradual steps by which he was able to achieve the career that he desired, and the curious combination of circumstances which first of all took him to Asia Minor and then to the study of the Christian antiquities of that region.

'I had gone to Oxford with the aim of getting a Fellowship as the way towards a life of Research. If this aim had been successful at the time and in the way that at first I anticipated, I should have inevitably sacrificed my dream and ambition and drifted into some other line. I left a failure; and was invited to come back successful in my own fated line of life. Nature and the world were wise and kind, and always guided when I was erring and ignorant: or dare one use a more personal form of the idea and speak of Providence?'

Then he goes on to describe the steps by which he gradually learnt that the Acts of the Apostles was a serious piece of sober historical writing. He had naturally adopted the current critical view which looked upon it as not worthy of credence.

'Among other old books that described journeys in Asia Minor the Acts of the Apostles had to be read anew. I began to do so without expecting any information of value regarding the condition of Asia Minor at the time when Paul was living. I had read a good deal of modern criticism about the book, and dutifully accepted the current opinion that it was written during the second half of the second century by an author who wished to influence the minds of people in his own time by a highly wrought and imaginative description of the early Church. His object was not to present a trustworthy picture of facts in the period about A.D. 50, but to produce a certain effect on his own time by setting forth a carefully coloured account of events and persons of that older period. He wrote for his contemporaries not for truth. He cared nought for geographical or historical surroundings of the period A.D. 30 to 60.'

Sir William Ramsay then goes on to describe to us the steps by which he was gradually led to change his opinions and to

look on the Acts of the Apostles as a source of the highest value for the geography and local antiquities of the districts described by St. Luke. We do not propose to follow him through the minute and careful investigations by which he proves in so many cases the scrupulous accuracy of the narrative. His conclusions have been generally, if not universally, accepted; and the whole judgement upon the authenticity of the Acts and its value as an historical authority has been completely changed. Not everyone perhaps would endorse Sir W. Ramsay's statement that 'Luke's history is unsurpassed in respect of its trustworthiness,' but he is certainly justified in stating that the old view is now 'utterly antiquated. There is not one point in it that is accepted. Everything is changed or discarded.'

This changed opinion is not due only to Sir W. Ramsay: others have helped; but it is due almost entirely to the work of English scholars, which has been gradually accepted elsewhere. Professor Harnack has always shewn great open-mindedness and candour in acknowledging and adopting the work of writers in this country, and in that has set an admirable example to some of his fellow-countrymen who either ignore it or make use of it without acknowledgment.¹

But we do not wish to dwell on this part of the subject; we desire to devote some attention to a question of the greatest importance—the credibility of St. Luke's account of the taxing under Quirinius. This question was first discussed by Sir W. Ramsay in *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* published in 1898. There he propounded certain opinions which were looked upon as somewhat hazardous when they appeared. Some seventeen years have now elapsed, and it is interesting to inquire how far the opinions then expressed hold good.

The questions to be discussed are stated in the following extract:

'A number of the German critics, followed by many outside of Germany, used until recently to say without hesitation that Augustus never issued any decree ordering a census, that there never was under the Empire any regular system of census, that when any casual census was held the presence of the wife was not required but only of the husband, and that his presence was never required at his original home.'²

It will be remembered that it was from a study of the papyrus records of Egypt, published by Sir F. Kenyon, and

¹ See Ramsay, *op. cit.* pp. 66, 67.

² P. 225.

Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, that the evidence first came which enabled Sir William Ramsay to suggest that St. Luke's statements were correct. We do not propose to go over the ground again but to collect certain testimony which may help to convince our readers that the conclusions then published have been accepted by those most competent to express an opinion on the subject, and in some important particulars strengthened.

In the second volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* by Grenfell and Hunt, the authors write as follows :

' Prof. Ramsay is on firm ground when he justifies from the evidence of Egyptian papyri St. Luke's statement that Augustus started, in part at any rate of the Roman world, a series of periodic enrolments in the sense of numberings of the population ; and since the Census which is known to have taken place in Syria in A.D. 6-7 coincides with an enrolment year in Egypt, if we trace back the fourteen-year cycle one step beyond A.D. 20, it is *prima facie* a very probable hypothesis that the numbering described by St. Luke was consistent with a general Census held in B.C. 10-9. Moreover the papyri are quite consistent with St. Luke's statement that this was the first enrolment.' ¹

Still more important for our purpose perhaps is the opinion expressed in what is probably the standard work on the subject of Papyrus-study—Mitteis und Wilcken, *Papyrus Kunde*. In this work ² there is a full account of the Roman Census system as it was carried out in Egypt, and from that account we take the following extract :

' Da durch die späteren Zensuseingaben das 8. Jahr des 'Nero = 61/2 als Zensusjahr völlig gesichert ist, so ergeben sich rückwärts gerechnet die Jahre 10/9 v. Chr., 5/6 n. Chr., 19/20, 33/34, 47/48 und 61/62 selbst die diejenigen Jahre, die eventuell für die Einführung des 14 jährigen Zyklus in Betracht kommen. . . . Man wird aber den beiden Forschern auch darin zustimmen, dass alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür spricht, dass schon Augustus diesen Zensus eingeführt hat, dass dieser Zensus also im J. 10/9 v. Chr., oder 5/6 n. Chr., geschaffen worden ist. Für diese Annahme spricht, dass die *Δορυραφία*, die neue Kopfsteuer, deren Zusammenhang mit dem Zensus feststeht, bereits unter Augustus nachweisbar ist.'

Let us be quite clear what is proved. It is certain that in Egypt every fourteen years there was a numbering of the people. This was held in connexion with the poll-tax which had to be paid by all above fourteen years of age. That seems to have been the reason why it was held at that interval. We have not

¹ II ccliv pp. 207 ff.

² Vol. i 1, 192 ff. (Teubner. 1912.)

the same evidence for the rest of the world as we have for Egypt, but various incidental references seem to shew that this Census was universal. We can trace it back to the reign of Augustus, but we have not as yet certain proof of such a Census being held so early as St. Luke describes. We have no reason for thinking that it was not then held, and St. Luke's statement may be considered corroborative evidence.

But surely, it may be said, it was very curious that Joseph should have to go to Bethlehem. So many people thought. So Sir William Ramsay himself thought, and he suggested that this arose from the desire not to offend Jewish susceptibilities. But now it is discovered that this procedure is just what was normal. A decree of Caius Vibius Maximus, governor of Egypt, preserved in the British Museum and edited by Sir F. Kenyon, ordered all those who for any cause were absent from their own homes to return for the purpose of the Census.¹ This is how Grenfell and Hunt comment on the passage²:

'St. Luke's statement that all went to enrol themselves every man in his own city, so far from being an argument that the Census was exceptional, is an argument for the reverse; and it happens not infrequently that the facts recorded by a writer may well be right while his explanation of them is wrong. If, without rejecting the first chapter of St. Luke, the account of the Census could be combined with St. Matthew's record of the Nativity, from which the natural inference is that before the Nativity Bethlehem, not Nazareth, was the permanent abode of Joseph, all the difficulty concerning the exceptional character of the Census would be removed. But the possibility of a solution on these lines belongs to another field of study.'

Still stronger is the language of Wilcken:

'Darum wurden, wie wir kürzlich durch das Edikt des Vibius Maximus vom Jahre 104 gelernt haben vor einem solchen Zensus die Untertanen durch Edikt aufgefordert, dass jeder in seine Heimat gehe, um dort die Deklaration vorzunehmen—ganz ähnlich wie es Lukas, Evang. ii 1 ff., für Judäa erzählt. . . . Diese ediktate Aufforderung zur Rückkehr in die *idia* wird um so verständlicher, wenn wir nachweisen können, dass nicht nur schriftliche *ἀπογραφὰι* eingereicht wurden, sondern dass die ganze Bevölkerung zwecks

¹ Γαῖος Οὐίβιος Μάξιμος ἑπαρχὸς Αἰγυπτίου λέγει τῆς κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς ἐνεστώσης ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν πᾶσιν τοῖς καθ' ἡντινα δὴποτε αἰτίαν ἀποδημοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν νομῶν προσαγγέλλεσθαι ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐφέστια, ἵνα καὶ τὴν συνήθη οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἀπογραφῆς πληρώσωσιν καὶ τῇ προσηκούσῃ αὐτοῖς γεωργίᾳ προσκαρτερήσωσιν. *Papyrus in the British Museum*, edd. Kenyon-Bell, No. 904, p. 125 128 ff.

² *Op. cit.* p. 212.

Aufnahme des Signalements sich persönlich bei dieser Gelegenheit zu stellen hatte. Die persönliche Stellung spielt also beim Zensus dieselbe Rolle wie bei der Epikrisis. Darum mussten—nach der Lukaslegende—auch Joseph und Maria nach Bethlehem gehen.’¹

It may be accepted therefore as proved that it was necessary at the time of the Census for everyone to appear in person in the place to which they belonged—not necessarily the place in which they resided—and that what is related of Joseph and Mary in St. Luke’s Gospel is exactly in accordance with the custom of the Roman Empire.

The next question which arises is that of the date of this Census. According to St. Luke this Census was first made when Quirinius was governing Syria. As it was known that Quirinius was governing Syria in A.D. 6–7 when there was a Census, it has often been supposed that St. Luke has made a mistake and confused the date. It has however long been recognized that Quirinius was probably twice Governor of Syria. This seems to be implied by an inscription which would be conclusive only unfortunately the name is lost. It was, however, accepted by Mommsen and other scholars—though Mommsen put the date of the first governorship in B.C. 3–2, and this does not harmonize either with the Census or the reign of Herod. But Sir William Ramsay has had the good fortune to discover on the site of the ancient Antioch in Asia Minor two inscriptions which mention Quirinius and appear to suggest that he was Governor of Syria between 10 and 7 B.C. This new evidence then seems to corroborate St. Luke’s statement that a Census might be decreed in the year 9 B.C. by Quirinius.

There still remains some doubt as to the year of our Lord’s Birth.

(1) It was always customary for the Census to be held a year after the date when it was decreed. ‘A notable characteristic is that the returns always relate to the year before that in which they were written.’²

(2) We are not quite certain what year in Syria will correspond to the Egyptian year 10/9.

(3) Special circumstances may have caused the Census to be held later owing to the peculiar position of Judaea.

(4) According to Tertullian the actual Census in Judaea took place under Sentius Saturninus who was Governor B.C. 8–6.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 193.

² Grenfell and Hunt, *op. cit.* ii p. 208, No. ccliv.

This need not be inconsistent with the statement of St. Luke and seems to be based on independent information.

There are still some points which require to be cleared up ; but so far the result of investigation seems to have proved that Quirinius was Governor of Syria in the time of Herod, and that in all probability at that time a Census of the Empire was held, for which everyone was expected to present himself at the place to which he belonged.

Now we want in conclusion to make it quite plain what this proves. It does not, of course, prove that the events relating to our Lord's Birth were true in the way that St. Luke has described them, nor would it necessarily make them untrue if it were found that St. Luke had made a mistake. He might quite well, for example, have been wrong about Quirinius and yet on the whole correct. What it does prove is that St. Luke is where we can test him a careful and good historian whose statements have gradually been corroborated as our knowledge has progressed. Like all other historians he is to a certain extent dependent upon the material available. He was not himself present at the events which he describes in his Gospel. Clearly, however, he was a man who aimed at writing good history, and he would certainly give us the best information that he could obtain in the Christian community. The position which has definitely and decisively been disposed of, is that which would make him a romance writer of the Second century.

Without postulating the infallibility either of St. Luke or Sir William Ramsay a careful study of the controversy on this passage will suggest the following considerations. Our knowledge of the detailed administration of the Roman Empire is necessarily imperfect, and in these circumstances many statements of ancient authors are difficult to explain. The usual course among scholars in such cases is to try to reconstruct the history in a way which will account for all the different statements. The reference to Quirinius in St. Luke is just one of these difficulties. When older writers endeavoured to harmonize it with their knowledge from other sources they were only doing what is necessary in all historical reconstructions, whether secular or religious : they were not guilty of uncritical accommodation. So Mommsen used the passage as a secular historian would use it. But a body of persons claiming to be ' critics ' arose who applied quite a different method to the New Testament and assumed that any statement made by St. Luke must be wrong, if there were difficulties in correlating it with

our other knowledge. The last thirty years have made an immense addition to our knowledge of the Roman world, and the result has been in point after point to shew that the strictures upon St. Luke arose not from superior critical acumen but from imperfect knowledge. Not every point in his statements is yet established ; but the whole circumstances of the enrolment or census are shewn to be natural. Since Sir W. Ramsay first wrote on this subject the evidence in favour of his conclusions has become stronger as more points in St. Luke's narrative have been illustrated by archaeological discovery. The proper deduction from this is that the other method of 'criticism' pursued in relation to this and other New Testament writings is entirely unsound, and that we should treat St. Luke as a good contemporary authority until his statements are disproved instead of assuming that he is wrong unless his statements are corroborated.

We have in this review made considerable quotations from German works. That is for the benefit of those of our fellow-countrymen who pretend to be critical and who have shewn their 'critical' powers by declining to believe any statement made by English scholars until they have read it in a German author and then ascribe the discovery to the Germans. Sir William Ramsay complains that statements of his 'less evidently true' are accepted because writers can quote them from a German authority, 'ignorant of the fact that they ultimately are to be found in his *Historical Geography*.' It may be added that Wilcken entirely ignores the part that Sir William Ramsay has played in the investigations the result of which he accepts.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

SHORT NOTICES.

I. HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

1. *Luther*. By HARTMANN GRISAR, S.J., Professor at the University of Innsbruck. Authorised English translation from the German by E. M. LAMOND, edited by L. CAPPADelta. Vol. I. (Kegan Paul. 1913.) 12s. net.
2. *The Movement towards Catholic Reform in the early Sixteenth Century*. By G. V. JOURDAN, B.D., Rector of Rathbarry, Castlefreke. (Murray. 1914.) 7s. 6d. net.

3. *The Reformation in Germany*. By HENRY C. VEDDER, Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary. (The Macmillan Co. 1914.) 12s. 6d. net.

SOME recent English lives of Luther have been a little disappointing because they have been written on traditional lines and have taken little notice of the new questions raised by Denifle and so fully (and warmly) discussed in Germany. Whatever may be thought of Denifle's conclusions or his way of presenting them, he certainly started Luther-research and controversies on new lines. It is well that English readers should have a chance of seeing for themselves what those new lines are, and we must therefore welcome this quite adequate translation of Fr. Grisar's book. Those who know the author's *History of Rome and the Popes of the Middle Ages*, as well as his *Tridentine Disputations of Lainez*, will feel sure of the diligence, scholarship, and judgement brought to the task. But they may be a little dismayed at the length of the work, for vol. i only brings us down to 1519, and some of the discussions are long drawn out. It is to be hoped that Fr. Grisar will not always—as in the German original of this work—clothe his learning in prolixity, a vice to which some other modern historians in his Society have fallen easy victims.

Broadly speaking the new lines upon which Denifle directed research tend to a fresh study of Luther's theological growth and an investigation of the many legends that have grown up around his personality. Denifle's use of the Lectures on Romans (until 1904 left in MS) directed criticism to Luther's own account of his new insight into the meaning of Romans i 17 ('justitia Dei'): the whole MS has since then (1908) been edited by Ficker. Denifle proved Luther's claim to novelty of interpretation to be unfounded. Grisar's account brings out some new points, notably Luther's insistence upon predestination (Erasmus, it will be remembered, chose 'the freedom of the will' as theme for his attack upon Luther): the lectures—of first-rate importance for Luther's history—Grisar pronounces too rhetorical, and lacking in learning, but apt in biblical quotation: he agrees with Denifle in distinguishing Luther's teaching from that of the mystics, of whom Tauler and the author of the *Theologia Deutsch* had a great effect upon Luther, although he seems to have mistaken some of their mystical doctrines: his study of the mystics and his relation to them are well described in Chapter V (p. 167 seq.). The whole discussion (p. 184 seq.) of this part of Luther's activity

is interesting and should be taken along with 'The Discovery in the Monastery Tower, 1518-9' (when the true meaning of 'the justice of God' first came to him: p. 388 *seq.*). Grisar, in opposition to some critics, connects the new stage of Luther's views with his second study of the Psalms, rather than with his commentary upon Romans: he accepts Luther's own account, although rightly rejecting his claim to originality in his explanation of 'justitia.'

The most novel part of the work is the treatment of Luther's connexion with the struggle between Staupitz and some members of the Augustinian Hermits of the Saxon Congregation: building upon what was said by Cochlaeus ('he deserted to Staupitz'), Grisar contends that Luther, sent to Rome to support the Observants who opposed Staupitz and his movement towards laxity, afterwards changed sides: hence came, it is suggested, his later attacks, sometimes very violent, upon the Observants. The conjecture, interesting in itself, leads to an interesting study of the Order and its internal politics, but, on the whole, the matter is too conjectural for any verdict save 'not proven.'

It is a great gain to the English reader to have summaries (with references) of the countless studies of various questions and details, such as those connected with the visit to Rome, and the baseless charges brought against Tetzl (p. 341 *seq.*): the critical work of Paulus and many others is fully used and the later English volumes will be possibly even richer in this respect.

The picture given of Luther as a popular preacher and an impulsive guide of his undergraduate followers brings out his energy and power of compelling admiration: Fr. Grisar is perfectly fair: he acquits Luther of the darker charges which have been brought against him sometimes: his coarseness must, however, remain. His theological eccentricities, which were many, and his inconsistencies, which were frequent, are, if anything, dwelt upon overmuch. One would have liked, however, to have had a broader and therefore more impressive picture of Luther as he was. The details are so many that the impression left upon us is somewhat blurred. But the details are there, and we can at any rate attempt a composite photograph for ourselves.

Mr. Jourdan's study of the early Sixteenth century is an attempt, successful in many ways, to depict some currents of reforming thought on lines differing from those of the Reformation and before it in time. Colet, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Erasmus, —workers and true reformers—are treated of with some fulness

and much interest : they strove for a Catholic reformation. To the ordinary reader the work will be most instructive, and ought to suggest new aspects of the Reformation century ; but there should be added some notice of the ' mediating theologians '—Contarini, Gropper and others. They thought and worked upon much the same lines as those reformers of whom Mr. Jourdan treats. The Middle Ages ended in a movement towards a fuller and a deeper religious life : out of that movement grew not only the attempts here described but also both the Protestant Reformation and the Counter-Reformation themselves. Such a view makes the Chapter (X) called ' The End of the Movement ' seem wrongly named, for it did not end here. The book is really only part of a study which should be broader and larger in its plan. But its spirit is admirable and its accuracy, within its limits, is satisfactory. Many readers should profit by it, and they will find in it much that will be new to them and which they ought to know. That may be some reward to the author, but a better reward will be in new lines of study which he has opened up for himself and which, if we are not mistaken, he will follow with a growing load of learning and a greater strength of step.

Professor Vedder has two qualities which have helped him to write a good history of the Reformation : he is not afraid of striking out his own path and he is dissatisfied with some tendencies of America as it is. Happily he has not confined himself to fulfilling the threat of the publishers inscribed on the wrapper—that he will ' interpret the religious struggle of the Sixteenth century in terms of economics.' There is in the book much that critics may question : much, for instance, that disagrees with Fr. Grisar's views, but the writer is quite justified in his claim to have studied the sources for himself, and he has honestly tried to be independent in his judgements : he treats fully and fairly of some matters often passed over far too lightly—such as the doctrine of Indulgences and Luther's use of the *De Ecclesia* of Hus among others : the result is that he has given us a book far more thorough and original than many histories widely used. The notes are full and the many references in them should guide the student to special studies rarely used in English books. Prof. Vedder is not afraid of expressing himself strongly, and his language here and there may seem in the eyes of some of us to fall at times below the sober respectability of standard historians. But standard historians have fallen so deeply into habits of repetition in narrative, and in judgement they have shewn such

reverence for each other, that they have become traditionalists : we must therefore welcome the freshness and originality of Professor Vedder, and if we must pay the price by some sacrifice of dignity and respectability of language, we are content to do so. There are many questions and many discussions connected with Luther and Luther-research which the student can find treated better here than in most English books. He will find in Professor Vedder a guide who knows his way in a tangled field of mingled prejudice and research, and he will learn from him not to be afraid of forming his own opinion. It will be seen from what is said that we rate Professor Vedder's work very highly and we commend it to readers who wish to know and think for themselves. We cannot guarantee them against shocks, but after reading many books upon the Reformation period we are inclined to think that shocks are just what the students and still more the historians of this period really need.

Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches, Ecclesiastical Symbolism, Saints and their Emblems. By FRANCIS BOND, M.A. (Oxford University Press. 1914.) 7s. 6d. net.

No one who has or knows Mr. Bond's previous works on ecclesiological subjects will fail to welcome the book now before us, the most recent product of his studies in kindred matters. We have already noticed his *Fonts and Font Covers*,¹ *Screens and Roodlofts*,² *Wood Carvings (Misericordes, Stalls, etc.)*,³ and his monumental work on *English Church Architecture* (second edition).⁴ The present volume is quite worthy to rank with its predecessors. Like them, it is beautifully illustrated and well got up in every way. It presents no mere lists of dedications, patron saints, and symbols ; these are all classified, and discussed under various heads.

Dedications are memorial, that is, in memory of particular persons over whose tombs churches were built, as for instance St. Peter and St. Paul and other martyrs in Rome, and in England St. Alban, St. Cuthbert, St. Chad, and many more. Then there were Proprietary 'Dedications,' so-called, especially in the Celtic Church, in which however there were no dedications strictly speaking. Churches were named after their founders or those under whose influence they were founded. Thus in Wales we may have a group of St. David's churches or St. Teilo's churches, and so on, and by working out these groups we may ascertain

¹ C.Q.R. lxxviii. 456.

³ lxi. 209.

² lxx. 89.

⁴ lxxvii. 464.

the district in which any particular Celtic missionary worked. Sometimes in popular estimation and by common consent a proprietary dedication is added to one of the third kind, to be referred to immediately. Thus St. Wilfrid dedicated his church in Ripon to St. Peter, but it later became the church of St. Peter and Wilfrid, and similarly in other cases the name of the first promoter has been added to or has even superseded that of the original saint. For some time the church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Amcotts was re-dedicated to St. Mark in honour of Mr. Mark Faviell, who had contributed handsomely towards its rebuilding, but the original dedication now appears in 'Crockford.' It must be noted that in speaking of dedication 'to' a Saint, we are using an inaccurate though convenient expression. All churches are really dedicated to God alone, often in honour of, or in memory of, some Saint also. This has been distinctly pointed out by writers of all periods, *e.g.* by St. Augustine, Hooker, and Bingham. And before leaving the subject of proprietary 'dedications,' it may be noted that these have not been unknown in modern times even in the Church: thus there was Archbishop Tenison's chapel, now St. Thomas', Regent Street; and among Dissenters they are quite common, *e.g.* Rowland Hill's Chapel, Whitefield's Tabernacle, and so on.

Both the Memorial and the Proprietary dedications were far outnumbered by a third class, called Personal. Of these a sub-class is formed of dedications to the Holy Trinity or to the Second or Third Person in the Trinity. The second sub-class consists of dedications to God with special mention of some Saint whose intercession was particularly desired; these may be called Intercessory, and the enormous number of them indicates the strong belief in the Intercession of the Saints that prevailed in the mediaeval Church. It has been distinctly taught by Anglican divines such as Bishop Pearson, and in our own day by many more. But in the mediaeval Church the Saints were raised to a position scarcely distinguishable from that of mediators between man and God, and were often more looked to than God Himself; hence the enormous development of the practice of Invocation of Saints, as we see it in the Litanies then in use. Accordingly, of dedications to the Godhead, there are only about 450 Pre-Reformation examples, while there are more than 10,000 to the Saints. This of course only indicates how large a place the Saints held in the mediaeval system, not that they were thought to be greater than God. In the list of Saints in order of 'popularity' we find, as might be expected, the Blessed Virgin at the head, with 2335 dedications, All Saints with 1255, and St. Peter with 1140,

including 283 to St. Paul as well. No others go beyond 1000. St. Matthias has only one. St. Thomas of Canterbury has 80, St. Thomas the Apostle 46. SS. Nicholas, Margaret, Leonard, and Giles stand high in the list; St. Nicholas indeed has 437, while St. Mark the Evangelist has only 6, and St. Luke none. The reason is that those around whom the most legend had gathered were usually the most popular, whether they were Biblical Saints or not. St. Andrew has 637 dedications, a few of which may be accounted for in other ways, but his great popularity arose mainly out of legend.

Very little is really known about St. Nicholas, but there is a great deal of legend connected with him, much of which would be simply ludicrous had it not so long been taken seriously. And he has no less than 437 dedications, standing indeed seventh in the list, next after St. John Baptist and before St. James the Greater, St. Paul, and the Holy Trinity. The strange legends got full possession of the mediaeval mind, and the simple folk thought that one who could do such wonderful things for others could do anything for them; the idea was that God, with Whom all things are possible, could more effectually be reached through His Saints than immediately. And yet there were the ancient Collects, Psalms etc., in which God is approached immediately, in constant use.

In his thirteenth chapter Mr. Bond gives Père Delahaye's classification of hagiographic documents into eight categories, of which we can only give the barest outline. They are: I. Official reports of trials of martyrs before Roman proconsuls. II. Unofficial accounts of eye-witnesses. III. Acts founded on documents in the first or second category, 'edited,' abridged, or expanded to any extent. IV. Acts of which the kernel is not a document, but certain facts; these are historical romances, analogous to the Waverley Novels. V. Imaginative romances in which there is no substratum of fact whatever, and in which there is no reason to suppose that the Saint ever existed. The personages as well as the incidents were invented, but with as innocent a motive as in the case of any modern work of fiction. VI. Those legends which have been suggested by the etymology of the Saints' names, as St. Hippolytus, torn by horses, St. Christopher, the bearer of the Infant Christ, etc. VII. Those suggested by pictorial representations, as of St. Denis carrying his own severed head, a forcible way of indicating decapitation. Then came the legend that he did actually so walk to Montmartre. VIII. Those whose object was to enhance the glories of the Saint enshrined at some particular monastery. These

abounded in the Twelfth century, and so long as the object was attained, the writers apparently felt justified in recording any pious fictions that had reached their ears, and that had gathered details as time went on, in the telling from one to the other. These, moreover, it was not thought necessary or even right to call in question. It would have been considered disrespectful to the Saint to dispute a word said to his or her credit.

We have already exceeded the usual limits of a 'Short Notice,' so that we must pass over the rest of this interesting volume in a very cursory manner. Part II, about fifty pages; deals with ecclesiastical symbolism; all known symbols, including the plan of churches, are described. Part III is devoted to Emblems or 'attributes' of the Saints, generic, as the palm of a martyr, or specific, as the keys of St. Peter. The Eucharistic vestments being so often represented, a full account of them is given. These would come under the head of generic attributes, but they are usually accompanied by a specific emblem: thus St. Cuthbert is represented as a mitred bishop in mass vestments, holding St. Oswald's crowned head in his left hand, and blessing with his right, or holding his crozier. Sometimes however he or any other bishop may be represented in albe and cope. A very complete alphabetical list of generic emblems is given, each with its signification; then follows a similar list of specific emblems, each with the Saint or Saints to whom it belongs. If two or more Saints have the same emblem, we must distinguish them as best we can. Lastly, comes an alphabetical list of Saints in parallel columns, each Saint with his or her title, *e.g.* B. for Bishop, V.M. for Virgin Martyr, and so on; the day in the Calendar, *e.g.* May 6, or whatever it may be, the date of the Saint's death as nearly as is known, the number of ancient dedications, references to pages for illustrations in the book, and lastly, an account of the Saint's emblems, with the reasons for them. We wish very much that Mr. Bond's researches had enabled him to tell us what an 'image of Allhallows' was. There is abundance of evidence that there was such a thing, but no one knows anything further about it. However we can never ensure finality in these matters and the information may some time turn up. Meanwhile, we can strongly recommend Mr. Bond's book as delightful to read, and most serviceable for purposes of reference. It ought to bring much additional interest into the history of many a parish, and we have no doubt that it will, as it comes to be known to the clergy and others whom it may concern.

II. MISSIONS.

Missionary Principles. By the Rev. ROLAND ALLEN, formerly Missionary in North China. (Robert Scott. 1913.) 2s. 6d. net.

MR. ROLAND ALLEN is an able writer, and in treating the above theme, evidently very dear to his heart, he taxes his powers to the utmost. He explains every failure, overcomes every difficulty, removes every objection, by going back resolutely to root-principles, and those in the deepest sense Christian. The whole Spirit of the Gospel, he points out, is missionary; it is the whole Spirit of the Gospel, not the mere letter of Christ's command, which bids us go and make disciples of all nations. Hence, amongst other things, the frequent spectacle of parishes which are foremost in the support of Foreign Missions outstripping others in Home Missionary work also: they have not treated these things as a legal duty, they have been imbued with the true spirit of Christian love and Christian self-sacrifice, bounded by no limit save the good of all the world—its hope the Revelation of a Person in Christ, its motive the Holy Spirit, working for spiritual results even through material things. Where other motives are present, where a legal command is insisted on, there zeal for Missions is paralyzed, there the door is opened for refusal, for objections, for limitations. Mr. Allen marshals his arguments with crushing power against every opponent, and points out every pitfall that besets the unwary upholder of Missions. The book is one which well deserves its name, and its terse, epigrammatic sentences should render it useful to the Christian worker no less than to the Christian student.

Beyond the Pir Panjal. By ERNEST F. NEVE, M.D., F.R.C.S. (Edin.) New and Popular Edition. (C.M.S. 1914.) 2s. 6d. net.

MISSIONS to Kashmir, though off the beaten track, are of great natural interest, owing to the beautiful and romantic country where they are carried on. That interest will be deepened by Dr. Neve's book, and it is satisfactory that a Popular Edition of it should have been called for within two years of its publication. Kashmir is a country which has suffered grievously in past ages from tyranny and religious persecution; that nine-tenths of the people are now Mohammedans, in what was formerly a Hindu land, is sufficient proof of the latter. The administration is very greatly improved under the Dogra dynasty, but the

police system is still very bad, and needs thorough reform under European management. The people, far more prosperous than formerly, have been uplifted in many ways, but are still deceitful and too often dishonest, while Srinagar, their capital, is insanitary and grossly immoral. Kashmir, in short, is one of those lands where the need for Christian Missions is great and obvious. Happily, the C.M.S. has made a truly noble beginning there ; it has won the confidence of the Government under every difficulty, its influence is spread broadcast over the country—never more felt than amidst great calamities (famine, pestilence, or earthquakes) such as are all too frequent in Ka-hmir. Dr. Neve's two chapters on 'The Kashmir Medical Mission' and 'The Mission Hospital' are indeed refreshing reading ; so is that on 'The Kashmir Mission School,' where by the most practical and the most original methods (see especially p. 54) the Rev. Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe is training the youth of Kashmir to grow up true men—shewing masters and boys alike that 'the great aim of Christianity and the great call of the Christian Church is to Service.'

Battling and Building among the Bhils. With Preface by the Rev. A. T. BIRKETT. (C.M.S. 1914.) 1s. net.

MR. BIRKETT tells us 'This little history has been written by a lady who asks that it "may be published without her name being given, as the information it contains is culled from many sources," etc.' Mr. Birkett, himself one of her helpers, thanks the anonymous authoress for the trouble she has taken. We heartily join our thanks to his. She has so used her materials as to give in less than 100 pages a most vivid picture of the Bhils, one of India's wild aboriginal tribes—their primitive simplicity, almost savagery, their fierce, suspicious, and yet lovable character, their dread of evil spirits, their former aversion to the Gospel, their present readiness at least to listen to it. The Bhil Church, though still small in numbers, has gained a firm footing among the people ; it is attacking, with considerable success, not only their besetting faults, but the indebtedness to their neighbours which often hampers their daily life. Many are the stories, even in this small volume, of the power of Christ over the simple though misguided human heart.

A Central African Parish. By the Rev. EGBERT C. HUDSON. With Introduction by the BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR. (Cambridge : W. Heffer and Sons Ltd. 1914.) 1s. net.

THIS is a missionary book of an unusual kind. It shews the

good work already past its pioneer stage, and settled, or parochial, life in process of growth. True, the so-called Parish of Luatala extends for ten miles in every direction, and is only confined within these limits because it would otherwise be unworkable ! Still, the Gospel is now preached there on a regular system, of which many details of the greatest interest are given in this book, *e.g.* the account of the series of pre-baptismal classes, each under its own regular teacher ; the description of the ' Great Court ' at Luatala and the various Mission buildings all round it ; the daily routine of Schools, Hospital, Dispensary ; the account of work in the Out-Stations, of a journey to the coast ' to seek some of the lost and strayed,' of the commencement of a new Parish at Lumesule, etc. We cannot name nearly all the subjects dealt with in this little work, which we earnestly commend to our readers, as revealing a most important side of the Universities' Mission. The two appendices, ' Rejoicing at Luatala ' and ' In our Distress,' are both full of spiritual interest, and should on no account be left unread.

By the Equator's Snowy Peak. A Record of Medical Missionary Work and Travel in British East Africa. By E. MAY CRAWFORD (*née* E. MAY GRIMES), with a preface by the BISHOP OF MOMBASA, and a foreword by EUGENE STOCK, D.C.L. (London : C.M.S. 1913.) 2s. 6d. net.

MOUNT KENIA, called by the Kikuyu natives Kirinyaga, ' the mountain of dazzling whiteness,' provides the title for this interesting volume. Mrs. Crawford publishes here some experiences of medical missionary work among the various tribes inhabiting the slopes of that mountain. Though the narrative is unassuming, it is never dull, for the authoress has avoided exaggeration and prosiness with equal success. But above all, Mrs. Crawford is enthusiastic. Nowhere does this appear more clearly than in the light-hearted references to the hardships or discomforts of missionary journeys. Mrs. Crawford hints laughingly (p. 106) at the value of special training in the art of travel as a part of the preparation of a missionary, but the hint might well be taken seriously. The book may thus be commended as a picture of missionary life in East Africa. On the ethnological side, it is by no means devoid of value, though this will be attached naturally to statements of observation, as contrasted with the reasons and causes assigned to the facts. With this in mind, it is possible to point out many interesting

observations, such as the existence of a chieftainness in a certain group of the Kikuyu tribes. The opening up of new ground for medical and missionary work brought the authoress into contact with the Chuka tribe, of whom little more than the name was previously known. Lastly, it is believed that ethnologists will welcome an European woman's descriptions of the native women of various tribes. The importance of the 'point of view' in such a matter has not been accorded the recognition it really merits.

III. PHILOSOPHY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Problem of Individuality. By HANS DRIESCH, Ph.D., LL.D. (Macmillan. 1914.) 3s. 6d. net.

The History and Theory of Vitalism. By the Same, translated by C. K. OGDEN. (Macmillan. 1914.) 5s. net.

THE problem of the nature of life is at present a central one in philosophy and science. A few years ago the doctrine that all vital phenomena are capable of explanation as examples in mechanics appeared to be firmly established in scientific circles. So great was the authority of the mechanical theory that thinkers such as Lotze who were far removed from materialism were prepared to allow it universal application within the sphere of phenomena. The works of M. Bergson are only one sign among many that the opposite view is gaining ground among scientific investigators. 'Vitalism' is still perhaps a 'heresy,' but it shews promise of becoming the orthodoxy of the future. The greatest disadvantage from which the Vitalistic hypothesis has suffered in comparison with its rival has been its lack of definite formulation. We welcome therefore these two works by a distinguished Vitalist on the ground that they contain a fresh and successful effort to define the theory and to state the grounds on which it is held. *The Problem of Individuality*, which comprises four lectures delivered before the University of London, appears to us to be the clearer of the two works before us. *The History and Theory of Vitalism* is too much overloaded with historical detail which tends, for the layman, to obscure the course of the argument. In both books Dr. Driesch has restated and amplified the position which he stated in his well-known 'Gifford Lectures,' *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism*.

In *The Problem of Individuality* we have an argument against mechanism, a definition of Vitalism, and an attempt at a theory of the method of vital development. Dr. Driesch begins by marshalling the biological facts which tell against the

mechanical theory. The phenomena of 'active adaptation' are difficult to reconcile with the view that a living organism is merely a complicated machine. It is found that a change in environment in many cases calls forth an adaptation of glands and muscles to meet the new conditions. Still more remarkable is the formation of what are called 'anti-bodies' which render the organism immune from poisons with which it may be brought into contact. Significant as these facts are, Dr. Driesch does not regard them as conclusive. It is when we come to the process of 'regeneration' that we meet with a class of phenomena absolutely inexplicable on the mechanical hypothesis. If the mechanical hypothesis is true, then the egg from which an animal develops must itself be a machine, and we should expect that if the egg were cut in half only half the machine would remain. But experiments performed on the sea-urchin and other animals shew that this is not the actual result. From the mutilated egg comes not half an embryo, but a complete embryo of half size. Such experiments shew that the cells which compose the egg are not like parts of a machine which perform one function and one only, but have a certain power of adapting themselves and filling a different place in the organism. A similar fact is that the eggs from which embryos come have, in all cases, been produced by a process of division. Is it conceivable that a machine can be many times divided and yet remain complete?

Dr. Driesch has another line of argument, which to many will appear the most important of all. He asks us to compare the actions of living beings with the 'acts' of machines. In such a machine as the phonograph we have a case where a machine reproduces what it has received. The actions of living creatures are to some extent 'historically' determined, *i.e.* they are conditioned by the previous history of the individual; but there is clearly a profound difference between the actions of a man and the acts of a phonograph.

'If the acting man behaved like a phonograph or a machine of similar type, we could accept the machine theory; but he does not behave like that machine and, what is more, all the peculiarities which distinguish him from the phonograph are such as to distinguish him from any machine whatever. The phonograph, when reacting, only reverses the series of processes that have encountered it. Even of an actor we might go so far as to say that what he does might be explainable by the machine theory. But the acting man is not a stage actor. He is the sovereign of the results of his personal history; his history affords him only *means* of future acting and nothing more.'

In defining the Vitalistic hypothesis Dr. Driesch deprecates the hasty conclusion that the directing energy in life-processes if not mechanical must be psychical. He prefers to describe it in Aristotle's term as 'entelechy' and to regard it as entirely *sui generis*. Entelechy is not, he thinks, a source of energy, not in the strict sense creative, but it has the power of suspending and releasing the potentialities of the cells and thus to control development within the limits determined by the endowments of the cells. This suspending and releasing action is, in Dr. Driesch's view, non-energetic, and hence the theory of entelechy is not in contradiction with the principle of the conservation of energy. It must be confessed that this conception is not without difficulties, and it is interesting to notice that Dr. J. S. Haldane, in his *Mechanism, Life and Personality*, holds that any vitalistic theory must be in conflict with the principle of conservation.

At the conclusion of his main argument Dr. Driesch is led to raise some more general questions. For example, is there such a thing as an entelechy which is wider than individuals? Some features of human historical development suggest the hypothesis of a supra-personal unity in history; but, in Dr. Driesch's opinion, this is a mere hypothesis and, so far as we can see, must remain so. Again, in the controversy between Monism and Pluralism Dr. Driesch refuses to go beyond hypothesis. The ideal of thought is to find the Universe to be one Order, but, so far as our experience takes us, a dualistic view appears to be nearer the facts. If there is order and rationality in the Universe there is also contingency and unintelligibility.

Interesting as these speculations are, the argument on behalf of Vitalism as a biological theory is the important part of Dr. Driesch's books. How far the theory of 'entelechy' will survive the test of further investigation it is impossible to say, but Vitalism is doing great service in vindicating the existence of non-spatial, non-physical factors in Reality. Dr. Driesch's lectures are a blow from the side of science itself at the materialistic Naturalism which has too often in the past arrogated to itself the title of 'the scientific view of the universe.'

The Working Faith of a Liberal Theologian. By the Rev. T. RHONDDA WILLIAMS. (Williams and Norgate, 1914.) 5s. net.

MR. WILLIAMS, we believe, is a Congregationalist. 'Liberal theology,' he tells us, 'presupposes a great belief, the belief, namely, that more truth is accessible to the human mind than any yet embodied in creed or symbol.' The liberal theologian 'knows that theology at any time is but the attempt of the

human mind to interpret the facts of life and experience, and he cannot see why the mind of to-day should not be free to approach the facts of the world, and to construe them unfettered, however much helped, by the formulations of a past age.' Every age, we are told, 'must build up its own theology.' 'Theology must grow, as maps do when more territory is discovered.' And apparently, it is to grow as the result of 'a new approach to facts.' By this 'new approach' Mr. Williams does not mean, what one might at first suppose him to mean, 'the return to Christ.' For him, the primary facts, which have to be re-examined, are facts of present inner experience. Nothing external, nothing historical, counts for more than something secondary. Least of all does 'authority' count, and indeed, could one accept Mr. Williams' account of authority, it would be difficult to see why it should count for much. He defines 'authority' as 'the claim to command belief and conduct whether or not that belief and conduct find inward support in the soul.' Such authority he emphatically and repeatedly rejects. 'At every point at which a man obeys an external authority without feeling an inward ratification of its command, the act of obedience is not a moral or spiritual act.' 'That ratification from within would be the only thing that would make obedience to any command of Jesus a moral act.' 'Mere obedience to external dictation is neither moral nor religious life, not even if the dictation be that of Jesus.' 'The simple fact is,' says Mr. Williams, 'that the quest for infallibility must be given up.' 'The infallible Jesus, as authority in theology and ethics, is just as impossible as the infallible Church, or the infallible Book.' 'The search for an external authority in morals and religion is a vain search; no such authority can be found.'

For external authority Mr. Williams substitutes inner experience. He believes, as we all do, that 'knowledge of Divine things' is 'a fact of experience.' This he makes fundamental and cardinal. 'Our great emphasis in religion to-day is the possibility of, and the need for, a personal, first-hand acquaintance with Divine things, knowledge of God through fresh experience.' Apparently, this 'fresh experience' is the new 'territory' that will enlarge the maps of theology. Moreover it is an infinite territory. 'In the immediate experience of God we witness a Reality that can never be embodied in any closed system of thought.' So theology should be essentially and permanently 'liberal.'

But what is this immediate experience of God? Seemingly it is *not* 'an immediate experience of God' but an experience

of an anonymous Power which—' who ' would be inappropriate—our faith makes bold to designate ' God.' ' We know that there is a power in life working for good ; . . . We believe that this power is the power of the Divine Spirit.' What is that ' power in life ' ? Apparently it is not the ' power ' of grace. It is known in our own impulse towards the good—in fact, it is that impulse, and we know it only as that impulse, although our faith declares it to be something more. ' The essence of religious faith is the conviction that the Urge within us towards what is above and beyond us in moral and spiritual excellence is itself a movement in our souls of the Eternal Spirit we call God. This identification is the substance of religious faith.' Again, ' it is of the essence of faith to recognize that our innate yearning towards this " higher " is the movement of that " Higher " itself within us.' Here we have ' Immanence ' full-fledged, and in a form that seems to ask less of thought and more of faith than that amiable doctrine usually does. The ' upward demand in man's nature ' becomes a ' power,' that ' power ' becomes the ' Eternal Spirit,' and all this *becoming* is the work of unassisted faith. Evidently, like old Sir Thomas Browne, Mr. Williams is one of those who love to lose themselves in a mystery.

There is a religion in this book, but it is not the religion of the Church of England, and one sees no important reason why it should be called Christian. Mr. Williams tells us that ' Christology in future ' will ' assert for Jesus a place which is all His own in Christian faith,' but it is quite clear that the place then asserted will *not* be the place which our Lord now fills in the thought and worship of Catholic Christians.

A Constructive Basis for Theology. By J. TEN BROEKE, Ph.D.
(Macmillan. 1914.) 10s. net.

DR. TEN BROEKE has made a notable contribution towards liberal reconstruction in theology, and his work is one which no student of contemporary religious thought should neglect. The larger part of the book is taken up by excellent historical chapters on the religious and theological aspects of philosophy. These lead up to the author's own reconstruction, which (if not a form of Ritschlianism) has been largely influenced by Ritschlianism. He accepts very largely Höffding's account of religion.

' Religious experience is religious feeling and derivative, for it is the feeling which is determined by the fate of values in the struggle for existence ! Appropriating a scientific term, we may call the " conservation of values the characteristic axiom of religion," and the feeling for the fate of values is in reality the religious feeling and the essence of religious experience.'

He rejects, however, Höffding's contention that religious conceptions have merely symbolical value. Against Pfeiderer, who contends that Ritschlian theology gives us merely what Feuerbach called *Wünschwesen*, he attempts to shew that Ritschl's use of Lotze's theory of knowledge warrants inferences from 'value' to Reality, and thereby makes value-judgments trustworthy beyond the domain of feeling. 'Everything seems to turn,' he tells us, ' . . . finally upon the relation of religious experience and its ideas to knowledge.' For himself, following Lotze and Bosanquet, he is content to believe that there is 'a final identity between reality and value.'

Unlike some, however, who are interested in reconstructions of theology, Dr. Ten Broeke does not establish the primary affirmations of religion upon philosophy, nor derive from philosophy their certainty. The most that he claims for philosophy is this:—modern conceptions in philosophy are consistent with the affirmations of religion and, up to a certain point, support those affirmations. Only up to a certain point, for the affirmations of religion go beyond the certainties of philosophy. They are essentially affirmations of faith, and—in what appear to be value-judgements—they reach out to conceptions which philosophy cannot verify.

In a fashion characteristically modern, Dr. Ten Broeke starts from religious experience. For him, theology is 'the science of religious experience.' Others, who use similar words, start from an alleged immediacy of divine things in mystic experience. For Dr. Ten Broeke, however, the fundamental and normal experience is that of our Lord. If there be a revelation, it is *there*. Catholic thought points us to a *Person*; Dr. Ten Broeke points us to an *experience*. It seems probable that this difference marks the parting of the ways—the real line of cleavage between the historic faith and substitutes which profess to be re-statements. The distinctive note of our Lord's experience is said to have been consciousness of sonship with God. By learning of Him, we may enter into His experience, and become conscious of our own sonship. To bring about this discovery of sonship, this experience of sonship, is the purpose of the Christian religion. 'Early Christian experience appropriated the new life in God that Jesus had revealed. Those who had learned of Jesus came to know God as Jesus knew Him . . .'

The whole of chapters xi, xii, and xiii will well repay careful study. On pages 328–333 there is a helpful discussion of miracles—based upon a view of nature and natural laws which is largely

Bergsonian. On p. 309 Newman's name occurs in a sentence which, we think, misrepresents his position.

Common Objections to Christianity. By the Rev. C. L. DRAWBRIDGE. (Robert Scott. 1914.) 5s. net.

WE have long felt an admiration for the Defenders of the Faith who bravely give up hour after hour on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon in the Parks of London, to argue with those who pick holes in the Christian Creed. No defence which they can make will ever satisfy their opponents, who do not want to be satisfied, but it may serve to prevent others from being led away into unbelief. The book before us is the firstfruits of Mr. Drawbridge's labours, and it most usefully summarizes the arguments of various types of sceptic, while it elaborates the answers by which they can be met. Sometimes perhaps Mr. Drawbridge may seem to indulge too freely in *Tu quoque*; but he is dealing with men who can generally understand no argument but that, and even a *Tu quoque* serves to shew how vulnerable the position of the sceptic really is. In fact the sceptic is always arguing *a priori*, though he professes to have facts and experience to support him, and so the tables can always be turned on him. He has consistently ignored the weight of collective experience against him, and has to pay for the omission. On three points the book seems defective: (1) in its treatment of pain, particularly of 'unmerited' pain, not (so far as one can see) caused by sin in oneself or others—a real stumbling-block to the faith of many; (2) in its attitude to philosophical determinism, which it, rather unfairly, identifies with fatalism, because (we suppose) many of the London sceptics are fatalists: (3) in its conflict with secularism, to which the argument about the London Hospital Fund is not an answer, however much the demagogue may be silenced by it in the strife of tongues. Still the book is a good one, strong and sane and patient. Mr. Drawbridge has rendered a service to the cause of truth.

IV. SERMONS.

Twelve Cambridge Sermons. By J. E. B. MAYOR, late President of St. John's College and Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge. Edited with a Memoir by H. F. STEWART, B.D. (Cambridge University Press.) 5s. net.

IF these sermons have waited far too long for notice it is not

because the reviewer lacked respect for a great scholar of a type unhappily becoming rare, or because the sermons themselves lack interest. They are indeed full of interest and of a learning which had cast its net widely; those who ever heard the late Professor of Latin read prayers in his College Chapel can imagine how his beautiful voice and intonation added to their effect. The memoir, full and singularly complete for its size, gives us a charming picture of a great Latinist and his mental growth, of a great University figure, his work as University Librarian, and his many-sided activity: even his passionate love of 'simple living' finds its proper place. And through his whole life one sees how his scholarship and religion, his devoted work and his vehement activities were all one great whole.

The sermons, apart from their religious and literary interest (both of which are great), give us many glimpses of learning, and of Cambridge life. There is a real appreciation of Church history: the sermon 'Boldness of them that have been with Jesus' is typical of this: the most diverse pieces of learning crop up everywhere; it is delightful to hear the preacher on Fisher. It is pleasant to hear him confess his debts to old writers whom no one reads to-day. His 'Commemoration Sermon' (St. John's, 1891) teaches us what an ancient foundation means to a really great and 'pious' scholar; the following sermon, 'Ready to distribute,' combines an indignant rebuke of one of Faber's calumnies on the Church he had left with a heartfelt appeal for sacrifice and simplicity of life. 'The Goodly Heritage' is remarkable for its list of worthies and most interesting for its words about S. R. Maitland (which moreover shew Mayor's real and not affected liberality of mind); incidentally we learn that Maitland's copy of Strype, corrected by him from the Lambeth registers, was presented to the University Library by F. W. Maitland; happy too is the merited rebuke given to Leslie Stephen's unfounded description of Cambridge piety as fanaticism; specially noteworthy is the appeal for a new edition of Strype. There is vigour and wisdom in the complaint against 'a limping scholarship that proscribes Christian classics, poring over Libanius and leaving Chrysostom in the dust.' Mayor's view of learning was as wide as were his sympathies, and his love of niceties of scholarship was equalled by his zeal for the college mission at Walworth. The sermons are an unveiling of a great and loveable nature, and we are glad the learning embedded in every page is made more useful by an excellent index.

V. PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

The Riches of the House of God. By FLORA ABIGAIL MACLEOD.
(Longmans. 1915.) 2s. 6d. net.

WE have not seen Miss Macleod's name before, but if this is, as we think it is, her first book, she has by it attained to a very high place among devotional writers. The book before us bears no marks of immaturity—it is one of the most beautiful and deeply spiritual studies of the life of a Christian we have ever seen. The writer's *motif* is—as Fr. Congreve says in his delightful preface—the joy of the pilgrim's life; two notes are sounding in it—'The indwelling of God in the believing soul that abides in Christ, and the joy of the Holy Ghost.' Miss Macleod conceives of life as a Pilgrimage: there is a quest, and as she tells us, we set out in hope to claim the inheritance which is ours. 'For the life we live is an alchemy, transmuting meanest and most trivial things into gold, and the riches of the House of God are ours to-day.' So we have the Pilgrimage Prayers, the Quest in Hope, and then we pass on to consider the Riches of Penitence, the Triumphant Conflict, the joyful Mystery of Pain, the Treasures of Darkness, the Entire Surrender, the King's Feast. Each division is followed by the Pilgrim's Prayers, Colloquies with the Divine Master. These are really uplifting, with no jarring note of over-familiarity, and yet there is a note of that loving intimacy which His followers have experienced from age to age as they walk with Christ and commune with Him in the Way. The book abounds in practical counsels of sanctified common sense. There is no disparagement of the intellect; behind the devotion and spiritual insight there are traces of a cultivated mind and a love of beauty. We wish many people would heed the words about the duty of seeking beauty and shrinking from offering to our Lord things which are ugly and mean—hymns which break rules of poetry and common sense and so on. Again in the chapter on Pain there are wise words on the proper care for health, and on the other hand the avoidance of over-valuing bodily vigour. One of the chief characteristics of the author's mind is complete sanity and balance, which qualities make the book suitable for any spiritual Christian, however much or however little he has learned of the Pilgrim's joy. It is absolutely devoid of sentimentality or anything like mawkishness.

The chapter on Pain ought to be peculiarly welcome just now, but on the whole we think the writer's words on a complete surrender shew the deepest insight and perhaps the strongest individuality. She is singularly independent of other writers, and yet she is akin to all the best of the Catholic mystics. We will end with a quotation :

' If we would know the riches of the House of God, we must surrender all that we may gain all—even God Himself. That means a very real emptying, and holy poverty is not more pleasing to the natural man than any other form of poverty. But praised be God, it is not the natural man who has to open his hands: it is a Christian, one who has been born anew in baptism, cleansed in absolution, and fed with the Bread of Angels. The supernatural life is permeating the whole being of such an one; his standpoint is changed; and as he drops, little by little, things that once were precious, that he may give to God with an undivided heart, he tastes the fruits of the Spirit whose very beginnings are love and joy and peace.

' What is it we must forego? We must seek to give up all for the love of God—an entire surrender. This is the work of a lifetime; but it is learnt in detail day by day and is fostered by two Christian devotions of incalculable importance and also of great sweetness, the Practice of the Presence of God and the love of the Divine Will.'

In the Day of Battle. By the Right Rev. H. L. PAGET, D.D., Bishop of Stepney. With an Introduction by the BISHOP OF LONDON. (Longmans. 1915.) 2s. 6d. net.

FIFTEEN years ago Francis Paget, Bishop of Oxford, wrote *The Redemption of War*: to-day Luke Paget, Bishop of Stepney, writes *In the Day of Battle*. There is a brotherly likeness between the two books: none but a Paget could have written either. Even in little things, like the quotation from Hooker on p. 30, the later author reminds us of the earlier. But there is a difference. Then it was the Boer War: now it is war on a more terrific scale. Then it was the Dean of Christ Church, the Bishop of Oxford, writing with a scholar's delicacy, the discipline of the Oxford Movement still restraining him. Now it is the London parish priest, the East End Bishop, speaking for all the people to hear. Gently he lets Church 'movements' drop into oblivion. With firm (though still polite) determination he summons all to take their place in a Church that must pull in common harness. Real as the elder brother was, none so real as he in those days, the younger encourages us to believe that, through loss and gain, we are entering upon a reality more various and yet more simple than of old.

His thoughts for the war are a meditation upon the Lord's

Prayer, of which he says beautifully that 'the freedom it gives us, the gentle restraint it imposes, are exactly what God means for us. Within its limits and confines we may indeed walk at liberty.' He shews that destiny of love for which 'Our Father' is a symbol to the nations. If the diversity of language in which it is repeated 'stands for that which pushed unjustly or pushed to extremities involved us in the war, the unity of spirit underlying the words shall stand for all that which is mitigating the asperity, softening the harshness of war even now, which will make war rarer as time goes on, till at last there shall be war no more.' He thinks of the Names in the Apocalypse, the Word, the Faithful, the King of Kings, and—pledge of illumination in the darker problems of these fearful days—the 'Name which no man knoweth but He Himself.' He tells of the assurance in 'Thy Kingdom come,' and illustrates it with a happy audacity: '*The Splendour of God* was the favourite oath of William the Conqueror, and it seems, somehow, to have seized on a thought which our timid and apologetic tones about our religion have managed to lose.' On 'Thy will be done' some profound thoughts are guided into homely lines. Even of war 'there is no ground for believing that it lies apart from God's purpose. . . . The very costliness with which, the world being what it is, God's will has to be worked out should make us all the more eager that God's will should find effect.'

Here is a touch of the reality referred to above. The chapter on 'Give us this day our daily bread' is especially full of it. This may be indicated by two quotations, an indictment and a promise. 'Perhaps there has been no inconsistency between piety and practice more glaring than the contrast between what Christ bids us ask for and what we have accustomed ourselves to want.' 'There will be much rebuilding when the war is over; but few will wish to reconstruct the wasteful, foolish, wicked life of luxury, the fantastic folly of the former days. We shall want to live more simply than before. Our modest and reasonable requirements, the things we really want for health, for work, for recreation, for helping others, will come within the compass of our prayer. We shall be in no dilemma; we shall not be ashamed to ask for them, when we pray for daily bread.' But still more insistent is this note of reality in the pages which are given to 'Forgive.' Many gentle hearts have been shocked of late to find how miserable they can after all be made by the gloom of resentment. They will be surprised at the brief sentences with which they are shaken out of this alien mood, and carried on to actual duties. 'It is very

doubtful indeed whether the question as to "forgiving Germany" has any real meaning for you and me.' Who are we to claim the power of the Keys? But 'we have built up our purity, such as it is, on the wreck of ruined women, our wealth on the toils of sweated labour, our comfort on the unheeded wretchedness of millions. . . . Certainly the spirit of forgiveness is in the air. Like children in the presence of death we are sorry we have ever quarrelled, sorry we have been so unkind. We want the comfort of forgiveness; we are ready to forgive; we know now!'

Something might be said of the minor graces of this book: the happy phrases; the touches of imaginative exegesis, which prove how studiously the author has lived in reading and learning the Scriptures; the good tradition of literature in which he has been educated. But the purpose of the whole is too grave for attention to such details. Better to use the space that remains by quoting the concluding commentary on 'Lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil.'

'We are on our trial, we are living under strain. For almost any of us the strain may become in a moment intolerable. . . . What if it come?

'We cannot promise ourselves, as we almost may in the matter of physical death, that there will not be much pain. There will be. There are no anaesthetics; and the agony is often long protracted, on what may seem the deathbed of our hope and our joy. We cannot count on bright vision and brave words. Our very religion, God Himself, may seem to have failed us. "Behold, I go forward, but He is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive Him: on the left hand, where He doth work, but I cannot behold Him; He hideth Himself on the right hand, that I cannot see Him. But He knoweth the way that I take; when He hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold."'

The Consciousness of the Spiritual. By C. E. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, D.D., Hon. Canon of Southwell; Vicar of Buxton. (Skeffington and Son. 1914.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book is clearly the work of one who has read widely and has besides the eclectic gift. A great deal of information in a useful form has been gathered round a central thesis, namely, that the consciousness of the spiritual is consciousness of a reality and not of an illusion. The general scope of the book may be summarized as follows. The characteristics of spiritual life are examined. The proofs of the existence of God—ontological, causal, teleological, and ethical—are shewn to be necessarily incomplete, for pure reason cannot demonstrate

essential existence. But the value of a consensus of opinion is ably shewn. Three elements of spiritual life are then analyzed—the sense of dependence, of moral law, and of beauty. These are treated in considerable detail; and their perfect manifestation in the life of Christ is discussed with some fulness. The last chapter consists of various applications of the foregoing argument to the spiritual life.

The author evinces real critical ability in regard to the work of others, and his criticisms are almost invariably just. On the constructive side he is perhaps less satisfactory. His theory of matter is open to doubt, and is not free from contradiction. In places it is frankly dualistic, almost Gnostic—as in the discussion of the nature of the Resurrection Body taken in connexion with the statement on p. 147—while in others it approaches the idealistic position. Again, the problem of the relation between immanence and transcendence is not satisfactorily faced; and to explain the spiritual consciousness Dr. Scott-Moncrieff, rather unfortunately, we think, shelters himself behind the ‘subliminal self.’ The very existence of this is denied by some authorities, notably by Münsterberg. There seems also to be some confusion in the author’s mind between Bergson’s intuition and the subliminal self. We may be wronging him, but this is the impression left on our mind by a careful perusal of his book. Surely, however, the two are fundamentally different. The one is a source of indeterminate action, in that it ‘installs itself in that which is moving, and adopts the very life of things’¹; the other is far more closely allied to Bergson’s Pure Memory, though not identical with it; being indeed a vague conception involving both ideas.

The three elements that are taken as characteristic of spiritual life—the sense of dependence, the sense of beauty, and the sense of moral law—are carefully analyzed, and their relations well worked out. In regard to the first, however, a discussion of Trotter’s work on Herd-instinct is much to be desired.

The chapter on the Reality of the God-Consciousness is excellent. That on the Perfect Life seems to us to be marred by an almost tritheistic separation of the Persons of the Holy Trinity for the sake of the argument. The last chapter is also somewhat unsatisfactory, mainly on account of the weaknesses in the earlier chapters to which we have already drawn attention.

¹ Bergson, *Introduction to Metaphysics*, p. 63.

The style is sometimes obscure, and at times almost ungrammatical; notably sentences on pp. 17, 94, 148.

In spite of these defects the book, if not strikingly original, is a valuable summary of material unfamiliar to the non-specialist, and as such it is greatly to be commended. The fact that it frequently challenges thought, and even question in regard to minor points, is by no means wholly a disadvantage. In many places we find beauty of treatment and evidence of insight. The Analysis at the beginning is excellent, and greatly adds to the usefulness of the work.

The Offerings made like unto the Son of God. By W. S. MOULE, M.A., Principal of C.M.S. Training College, Ningpo, and Archdeacon in Chekiang, China. (Longmans. 1915.) 6s. net.

THE writing of this book must have been a true labour of love. After long and reverent brooding on the sacred texts, on the mystery of Sin, and the gladness of Redemption, the author has poured out his soul in an attempt to impart to others the peace which has been granted to himself. He reveals, unconsciously and very attractively, his own character in these pages. We seem to see what St. Luke calls 'a good man,' gentle, careful, scholarly. His intellectual sympathy is limited; he does not make other men's difficulties his own. He has read *non multa sed multum*, not widely but well; hence his excellent style—plain, lucid, unaffected. He is imaginative in a childlike way; quick to see analogies, but innocent of philosophy, and hardly capable of realizing the tragedy of far-off things—as Holman Hunt did in his terrible picture of the scapegoat. His book is an elaborate commentary on the Mosaic Law of Offerings. One of his objects is to confirm the belief that this Law was entirely given through Moses. There are many who humbly and honestly believe otherwise; and they will be sorry that Archdeacon Moule should think that critical processes 'had their birth in unbelief.' This however is but a secondary purpose. The main argument of the book is expressed in its title. It is to shew how the Mosaic ritual was, even in minute details, 'made like unto the Son of God.' The phrase is of course taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii 3), and this adaptation of it is not quite free from difficulty. In the Epistle it is Melchizedek who is thus described; the Mosaic ritual is called a shadow; and our Lord is proved High Priest after the order of Melchizedek,

not after the order of Aaron. However the ritual is employed in Hebrews for analogy, and Archdeacon Moule writes :

' If the record of Melchisedek was so inserted as to make him a true likeness of the Son of God, how much more may we conclude that the object of the Mosaic Ritual was to make the general truth that God must be approached by offerings of propitiation more clear and definite, and so afford a more detailed and elaborated picture of the work of Christ by which man is brought near to God ? '

He also says, more absolutely, ' If the Law of Offerings does not contain such a philosophical analysis of the work of Christ, we look for it in vain elsewhere in the history of revelation.' Yet he fully recognizes the temporary character of the Law, and is more inclined to separate Judaism from the Gospel than to exaggerate real connexion. He concludes thus :

' The Temple was restored, but not its former glory. The throne remained empty, waiting. The last prophets gave their message, and then silence fell till Jesus came, as in the old days there fell a silence before the great redemption. Now He has come and gone and left His record behind Him. We have it in the books of the New Testament. And Israel ? What of Israel ? There is no temple, no altar, no priesthood, no offerings, no prophet, no king. We do not need them, though we read their history with reverent awe, for we have JESUS CHRIST.'

One more quotation may be given to illustrate Archdeacon Moule's analogical method. It also illustrates the theory of Atonement which he finds in both Testaments. Elsewhere he insists upon the example of Christ and the idea of service.

' *And he shall kill the bullock before Jehovah.* We have already noticed how this act is prominent in all the substitutionary sacrifices. These are taken from living creatures, so that they may suffer death. The death, moreover, is not merely a necessary preliminary to being burned upon the altar ; it is evidently a chief part of the work of the substitute. The prominence given to the death of the victims in these sacrifices corresponds to the position which the death of our Lord holds in the fourfold Gospel. There is also a correspondence with the primitive record of Eden. At the entrance of that garden the flaming sword *turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life.* So here at the entrance to the tent of meeting with Him Whom truly to know is everlasting life, there falls every way the stroke of judgement.'

Forgiveness and Suffering. By DOUGLAS WHITE, M.D. (Cambridge University Press. 1913.) 3s. net.

THEOLOGY has been indebted to more than one member of the medical profession for a salutary tonic, when she was in

danger of losing her vitality through an overstrained attention to minutiae. Sometimes the prescription has been unpalatable ; ungraciously offered, and by no means graciously accepted. Now and again the draught has been pushed aside, only to be consumed surreptitiously later on. But hardly ever has it proved other than beneficial. The broad humanity of the physician, who has constantly to minister to the soul as well as to the body, gives him rare insight. He sees the source of weakness, and, if he has but the tact to go wisely to work, he can often effect a cure.

We turn, therefore, with pleasurable expectation to Dr. White's little book on the Atonement, and are not disappointed. Certainly there is nothing unpalatable here. The author extends, very lovingly, a helping hand to those who are oppressed with doubt, and in him the gentle spirit of James Hinton finds no unworthy successor.

The thesis of the author is that Forgiveness must lie at the foundation of any satisfactory theory of the Atonement, and that Forgiveness always involves suffering on the part of him who forgives. The idea is not wholly new : Dr. Lofthouse,¹ for instance, devotes a good deal of consideration to it, but it is here presented with freshness and beauty. The writer points out that ' crude and unethical thoughts of God produce crude and unethical views of forgiveness ' (p. 1). ' A man's religion cannot clash with his ethics ' (p. 124), and hence, in regard even to an ultimate fact such as the Atonement, ethical progress calls for a development of theory.

Dr. White gives a slight, but able, summary of the doctrines of Atonement that have been held, indicating clearly the main trend of thought at different periods ; and he deplores, rightly, we venture to think, the fact that the clergy still preach modified forms of either the substitution or the satisfaction theories, which repel the minds of thinking men and women. ' The whole conception of penal substitution,' he says, ' depends for its validity on the presumed isolability of sin from the sinner, as if it were a *thing* separable from a *person* ' (p. 24)—a view metaphysically untenable. And he protests strongly against any theory that involves such ditheism as is inherent in the dogma of the isolation of the Son from the Father in the death-agony. In regard to this, however, it may be asked whether the view that the Son voluntarily took upon Himself the

¹ *Ethics and Atonement.*

isolation imposed upon manhood by sin, experiencing the agony of full self-limitation, of powerlessness willingly accepted, *does* involve ditheism, any more than the self-limitation of the God-head in creation does ?

And again, we cannot help feeling that there is more in the old view that 'God overcame a difficulty' (p. 31) than the writer is disposed to allow. He rightly regards sin as raising an impassable barrier between man and God ; but it may perhaps be questioned whether forgiveness alone, even when wholeheartedly and freely accepted (more stress should have been laid on this), can demolish the barrier. Sin introduces, he rightly says, an antagonism between God and man, but it is an antagonism that goes very deep into man's nature, and its effects can hardly vanish with forgiveness. The omission of a full treatment of these two points seems to us to mar the completeness of Dr. White's work.

With the writer's emphatic vindication of the doctrine of Transcendence ; of the volitional nature of sin ; of the self-acting relationship between sin and retribution ; of the true parallelism between human and Divine Forgiveness, and the suffering entailed on the love of the forgiver which lives through suffering ; and with his repudiation of Moberly's contention that Christ was the Perfect Penitent, the reviewer is wholly in accord. The treatment of the passibility of God is full of suggestion and spiritual insight ; as is also the treatment of free forgiveness as the central point of Christian doctrine.

It is suggested that retribution is immanental in its nature and in its self-acting relation to mankind, but the thought is not worked out. Had this been done, we venture to think that the author would have found that sin did affect the relation of man to the Transcendent God in a fuller sense than he is inclined to believe, and that he would have found a solid barrier between sinful man and the Perfect God, which retribution and the acceptance of Divine forgiveness alone could not remove. For man's acceptance implies a change of attitude that can only be satisfied in perfect union, and this the barrier prevents. In short, as we have said already, we doubt if the assertion that 'Forgiveness is the introduction to that union with the Divine in which salvation consists' represents the whole truth. This does not, of course, affect the value of the statement that retribution is self-acting, and that the law is over-ridden by the higher Law of Love. 'When God forgives the sinner, His action in no way contravenes the law that sin leads to spiritual death,

any more than you interfere with the law of gravity when you pull your beast out of a hole' (p. 71).

With one other point we do not agree. What the writer says about the 'cry of dereliction' is true and beautiful in the main, but many hold that Christ must have felt in His own nature a separation between the manhood He had taken into His Being, and His Godhead, in the supreme moment when the effect of sin was consummated, and that, somehow, in that moment of voluntary sin-bearing in all its horror, the barrier was done away.

We have purposely dwelt on the points at which we disagree with Dr. White. With a book such as this, whose merit is so outstanding as to compel study and appreciation, the truest compliment is criticism. But we shall have failed in our purpose if we have not made clear our gratitude to the writer, and our hope that the book will be widely read, by laymen as well as by the clergy. The matter is presented with an ease and simplicity altogether admirable. And phrases, such as the following, abound, which shew an incisiveness that is almost epigrammatic: 'The fire is eternal, the chaff not.' 'Forgiveness is not only the end of alienation, but the beginning of co-operation.' 'To learn a man, we must learn what he developed into, not only what he developed from.'

To commend a book which he has already read several times with real profit and delight is a lot that falls but rarely to a reviewer; this is our happy privilege. We can only urge Dr. White to remember that gratitude at least includes a lively sense of favours to come.

VI. SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

1. *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement.* By Dr. WERNER PICT. Revised edition, translated from the German by LILIAN A. COWELL, Girton College, Cambridge. (G. Bell and Sons Ltd. 1914.) 3s. 6d. net.
2. *The Church in the Modern State.* 'The St. Paul's Handbooks.' By FREDERICK ROGERS. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd. 1914.) 2s. 6d. net.
3. *The Christian Life in the Modern World.* By F. G. PEABODY, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals (Emeritus) in Harvard University. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1914.) 5s. 6d. net.

4. *The Gospel of Jesus and the Problem of Democracy.* By HENRY C. VEDDER, Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary. (The Macmillan Co.) 6s. 6d. net.
5. *Democracy and Christian Doctrine.* By W. H. CARNEGIE, M.A., Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's. (Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1914.) 4s. 6d. net.

THE translator of Dr. Werner Picht's *Toynbee Hall* has done well in introducing to English readers a very thoughtful and sympathetic German work not only on the Settlement movement but on popular education in England. There is however little or nothing that is distinctively German in the book and there are even a few quite un-Teutonic inaccuracies. At page 152, for instance, the history of that remarkable fiscal eccentricity, the so-called 'Whisky money,' is hinted at in sentences which are not only meagre but to some extent misleading. The origin of the fund, the fact that only a 'residue' after a large allocation to police superannuation was ever available for education, the operation of the Technical Education Act and the substitution of new conditions under the Education Act of 1902 are left out of the picture in favour of a statement that 'after a few years the County Councils changed their practice and devoted the money to other purposes.' And yet this part of Mr. Goschen's 1890 Budget, though neither so humorous as the 'parish ball to raise funds for a parish bier' which Mr. Gladstone made famous, nor so appropriate as the vote of the proceeds of a tax on coal to replace St. Paul's after the Fire of London, is of real importance to the sociologist, from the point of view alike of temperance and of education. Again, no one would suppose, from page 152, that the Pupil Teacher system, though in an altered form and as part of the training of teachers rather than as a factor in the staffing of schools, still looms large in the 'regulations' of the Board of Education and County Educational Committee Directors, and, even in the latter aspect, is the subject of much current discussion in connexion with rural schools. It is, at least, not the case that 'By pupil teachers are meant the Elementary School teachers who have attended no Secondary School.'

The account (at page 92) of the original aims and present position and functions of the Charity Organization Society, though written in no hostile spirit, presents a view taken rather from without than from within and leaves the vague and

inadequate impression of a body 'standing in the sharpest contrast conceivable to the views prevailing in circles interested in social questions,' though it 'does excellent *work* in training social *workers* and educating them to conscientious research *work*.' Lastly at page 145 'Firth College' is referred to as if it still stood for University Education in Sheffield, though in a note at page 147 Sheffield University is rightly included with those of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham, Bristol being for some reason omitted. In a note on an earlier page (137), however, both Sheffield and Bristol are mentioned with their dates of foundation, *viz.* 1905 and 1909 respectively. The 'excursus' on University Extension speaks of Elementary and University Education as having been revolutionized in the last forty years, while nothing is said of the vast changes in secondary education resulting from the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 (and its amending Acts) and the Education Act of 1902; and, in a fairly complete enumeration of the pioneers of the 'extension' movement the name of John Brown Paton should, judging from his recent biography, have found a place.

A second 'excursus' deals with the Workers' Educational Union, and it is remarkable that in this, rather than the three Parts of the book proper on Toynbee Hall and the Settlement movement, is to be found the ultimate and unfailing object of Dr. Picht's whole-hearted enthusiasm. For all his warm appreciation of Arnold Toynbee and of Canon Barnett and Mrs. Barnett, and in spite of his sympathetic sketch of the first, he affects us with a sense of something like failure in this most famous and most typical of 'settlements.' Here, as in the growth of the Working Men's College from the equally rare and prophetic personality of F. D. Maurice—here as even at Hull House in Chicago, where the doctrine and practice of Tolstoi stirred brief misgivings even in the heart of Miss Addams—here, as in all attempts to bridge the gulf between classes, the root problem, the spiritual dilemma, seems to be ever latent and ever haunting the deepest natures. No one, perhaps, as Dr. Picht seems sometimes to imply, has ever come so near as St. Francis to its solution in that real fusion, that sharing of the burden of poverty rather than merely relieving it, in which lies, somehow hidden and enfolded, the true scope of Christianity in modern life, and the innermost secret of such phrases as 'poor yet making many rich,' and 'though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor and have not charity'—almost, one is tempted to say, the secret of the Incarnation.

Mr. Frederick Rogers' little book has many of the merits and some of the defects of a manual. Some day, perhaps, perfection will be achieved in that most difficult task, the production of a handbook. Here we have, as the Preface claims, a sincere effort to attain accuracy, and a perhaps less successful endeavour to be complete. The book leaves us with a sense of omitted details and explanations which is not wholly due to the wide field to be covered. If some or all of the frankly *ex parte* expressions of opinion were omitted there would be room for a fuller treatment of facts, and if important generalizations, such as 'society is only the individual writ large,' are in place at all they should hardly be thrown down without at least brief reference to their grounds and their limitations. To say, again, that 'the Church of England was a Saxon church, with its own freedoms and faults, till the Conqueror came' is to invite a demand for some discussion of Gregory and Augustine and the controversies about the date of Easter—not to mention the curious local distribution of Roman and Irish or Celtic influences.

Erastus and Erastianism are clearly and very usefully treated, and much opportune information is given about the Eastern and lesser Eastern Churches. It is difficult, on the other hand, to see on what principle in Chapter iv on 'The Church in Europe' Education is, however briefly, dealt with in the survey of seven out of fourteen countries and omitted in respect of the rest (notably France, Austria, Norway, and Holland). Mr. Rogers reserves his harshest judgement for Portugal, but perhaps his book will not be translated into the language of that country.

Two passages, though less clear than could be wished as to the limitations within which 'Churches' as well as 'Church' can probably be referred to, may yet be quoted for timely warning.

'The Church at its best is a criticism of the nation. Its unpopularity is a sign of grace when that unpopularity is based upon loyalty to its principles. Churches that make truces with the world have no longer any reason for their existence, and religion "brought down to the level of the people" dies.'

And again :

'If all the Christian Churches of the world, casting aside their ideas of each other's heresy or infallibility for the time, could unite in one great act of penitence for past errors, they would face again, with purged souls, the problem of life and would give a new inspiration to the human race.'

In a moment of unusual laxity the author of the *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* omitted to verify a quotation from Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*. By singular ill-fortune Professor Peabody's printer makes him, to begin with, give a wrong reference to Lecky, viz. 'p. 299' instead of vol. ii p. 99. By still more singular ill-fortune the Professor misquotes Lecky's misquotation of Sir Thomas Browne. Lecky says 'Men gave money to the poor simply and exclusively for their own spiritual benefit, and the welfare of the sufferer was altogether foreign to their thoughts' and, in a note, 'This is very tersely expressed by a great Protestant writer "I give no alms to satisfy the hunger of my brother, but to fulfil and accomplish the will and command of my God."' Professor Peabody's version (noted as 'cited by Lecky *History of European Morals*') is 'I give alms' said Sir Thomas Browne 'not to satisfy the hunger of my brother but to fulfil the will and commandment of my God.'

But Sir Thomas Browne, in the context of a fine passage on Charity in its best sense, wrote 'I give no alms only to satisfy the hunger of my Brother but to fulfil and accomplish the Will and Commandment of my God.' He goes, in fact, no further than 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these My brethren ye did it unto Me,' and there is nothing in the whole passage to suggest the idea of almsgiving as a means of 'acquiring merit,' which, rather than 'the giver's peace of mind' (to use the Professor's phrase), seems to be what Lecky is thinking of when he speaks of 'a belief in the expiatory nature of the gifts.'

It has seemed worth while to dwell upon this point because the book which we are considering contains other instances of careless quotation.

FitzGerald did not, for example, write, and indeed could not conceivably have written :

' Could you and I conspire
To grasp this sorry scheme of things entire,
Would we not *dash it into bits* and then
Remould it nearer to the heart's desire ? '

But most unfortunate of all, perhaps, is the conversion of Bacon's 'I cannot call riches better than the baggage of virtue' into 'I cannot call riches *but other* than the baggage of virtue.'

In substance the book is one more attempt to get rid of Christian dogma—notably the Virgin Birth—and to rehabilitate some sort of Christian Ethics. With Professor Scott Holland's *Creed and Character*, and especially his phrase 'So ethical is

dogma, so dogmatic are ethics ' Professor Peabody would, if he had come across it, have as little sympathy as he has with Marx or Tolstoi, yet what he calls at one time ' the dogma of the immaculate conception,' at another ' the doctrine of the virgin birth '—seems to him to have borne ethical fruit in monasticism and asceticism, and he speaks of ' the sublime prayer of Jesus Christ, " That they all may be one ; as Thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee "' as if it were not pregnant with dogma. While rightly rejecting the defence of Christian Ethics which founds itself on an assumed superiority of the teaching of the Epistles to that of the Synoptic Gospels he seems to ignore the fact that the Epistles are of earlier date than the Gospels, so that it is rash to contrast ' the simple teaching ' of the Synoptics with ' the mystical visions reported after the Master's death.'

It must not be supposed that this book is wanting in sound thoughts and useful suggestions, but it is to be regretted that the author finds so much satisfaction in Schleiermacher and has not, apparently, like Baron von Hügel (see his *Eternal Life* and two papers, March and December, in *The Constructive Review*, 1914), corrected that thinker by a study of Troeltsch.

Against a specimen, only too typical, of rather cheap trickery in phrase may be set a passage so good that one regrets there are not more like it. Thus at page 114 we find the sound assertion that ' It is impossible to convert the teaching of Jesus into that of an industrial agitator,' used as a theme for variations such as ' His purpose was not revolution but revelation. He was primarily concerned not with the distribution of goods, but with the inspiration of goodness. He cared less for social classification than for social sanctification. He was not a socialist but a Saviour.' Yet from the same hand we have the following (pp. 73-4) :

' We come then, last of all, to that stage of domestic experience which succeeds the upbringing of children, when the parents, if both have survived so long, are left together to face the sunset of their lives. Here . . . arrives a most surprising and beautiful experience, like that of a long calm afternoon with lengthening shadows and softening light. The absorbing pre-occupations of business and the multifarious interests of children have slackened in their demands ; the circle of friendships has been reduced by the touch of death ; and the two lives which have endured the friction of the years and the moulding discipline of common joys and sorrows, find themselves renewing, with a curious iteration, their early experiences of mutual devotion, sufficiency and romance. As each grows of less importance to the busy world, each grows more precious to the

other. What was once a union built on hope, now finds new resources in memory. . . . As the things which are seen prove to be temporal, so the things which are unseen prove themselves permanent possessions ; and among the treasures which they find most secure from loss are the treasures which are gone. They have come out upon the higher ground of their journey together, where the view of life is not shut in by the details of passing experience, but the large outlines of the road behind and before become not only visible but coloured with the evening light. They see how strangely they have been led through perils which seemed disastrous, and by ways which they did not mean to go ; and the few steps which will now lead them into the dark bring no alarm, as they recall how their way thus far has been more wisely directed than they could have asked or dreamed. So at the end of the road they part, with the tranquil assurance that the surprises of the future will be as full of blessings as the surprises of the past ; and that heaven will seem to them like home because home with all its vicissitudes has seemed like heaven.'

If, as may be seen from the former of the two passages above quoted, and even more clearly from pp. 26, 27 and 28, the Emeritus Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University maintains that 'whatever social changes Jesus may have foreseen, his mind was not primarily fixed on economic affairs,' and 'His categories of social judgement were not those of wealth and poverty,' the Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological seminary takes, as might have been expected from his earlier work, a diametrically opposite view.

'We may (he says at p. 69 of his new book) expect something worth while to be done only when Christian men and women come to see that the Gospel does not permit a man to live at the expense of his fellows—when all forms of profit, and especially rent, dividends and interest, will be recognised as profoundly immoral since all alike violate the law "Thou shalt not steal." The Gospel of Jesus cannot tolerate two sorts of ethics.'

'The modern revolutionist,' says Professor Peabody, 'if he listens at all to the teaching of the Gospels, hears in it nothing but the confirmation of his own social creed,' and it must be confessed that Professor Vedder not only lays himself open to this charge, but is somewhat easily satisfied in the matter of evidence for a verdict of 'guilty' against capitalism in respect of every social wrong. 'The attitude of the clergy can be explained only on the ground of their economic dependence upon the privileged classes. They are the hirelings of capitalism.' 'Men have only begun to suspect the tie that exists between vice and capitalism.' 'When every girl receives a wage sufficient

for her comfortable support, when every young man receives a wage sufficient to enable him to marry 'we shall see an end to social vice,' or at least, as he explains elsewhere, such vice will become merely 'sporadic' and will no longer be 'commercialized'; and in drink 'we have a social evil for which an effective cure can be found only by the abolition of poverty.' And so, again, 'Crime is inseparable from the capitalistic system of industry' and 'the ambition of rulers and statesmen and generals and *the greed of capitalists* are together responsible for wars and armaments'; and, with regard to disease 'capitalists would rather kill off a large percentage of their workers every year than go to the cost of new equipment. Human life is cheaper than machinery.' The whole chapter on 'The Problem of Poverty' is, needless to say, an indictment of capitalism, but the Church, too, is dragged into court as 'always in alliance, more or less unconscious, with the powers that prey. The exploiter and the priest have been twin brothers. 'Capitalism and the Church are, to-day, twin forces' and at the bottom of 'The Problem of Lawlessness' lies the fact that 'Law and order has thus far been the Gibraltar of capitalism.'

Only in the chapters on 'The Problem of the Child' and 'The Problem of the Slum' are causes sought without this appearance of an obsession.

Professor Vedder shews some knowledge of a wide range of subjects—from hygiene to economics, but it is strange that there are no illustrations from the subject of which he is a Professor. And yet Miss Royden, who is no specialist in Church History, found, in her noteworthy speech at the Southampton Church Congress, an obvious and illuminating connexion between that subject and 'The Problem of Vice.' Speaking on this subject, she said 'Not only the laity but also the clergy seem to me to devote too little time to the extraordinarily interesting and, far more than interesting, the important history of the Church in the past.' 'If we knew a little more about the heresies which the Church has had to combat in the past, I cannot help thinking that we might be a little better able to combat the heresies with us now.' 'Century after century and in one country after another there has appeared one heresy under a dozen different names, and that heresy is with us to-day. *It is the heresy of despising the human body.*' 'The Church has been divinely guided to see where that heresy was leading from the beginning and surely it is no more than we should expect, because on no point is the teaching of Christ more clear and

perhaps in no point does it more profoundly differ from every other great world religion than in this—*the sanctity of the body.*'

And if, as is probable, Professor Vedder knows nothing of Miss Royden—has he nothing to say for, or against, the view of another American Professor of Church History that 'The mediaeval monasteries were the pure cultures of the social bacillus of Christianity'?

'The asceticism of the monasteries was one thing; their social organisation was another. Every monastery was essentially a communistic republic. The abbot or prior might exercise stern powers of command, but it was understood to be for the common good, like the discipline of a teacher or parent.'¹

In reading Canon Carnegie's thoughtful and suggestive book on *Democracy and Christian Doctrine* we are reminded at once of a passage in *The Mystical Element in Religion* where Baron von Hügel speaks of contemplation going forth into the world of material phenomena to brace and purify itself, and of Stevenson's very different and much more one-sided summons to the cloistered 'religious' in *Our Lady of the Snows*.

'For still the Lord is Lord of might;
In deeds, in deeds, He takes delight.
The plough, the spear, the laden barks,
The field, the founded city marks.

'For those He loves that underprop
With daily virtues Heaven's top

'That with weak virtues, weaker hands
Sow gladness o'er the peopled lands.
And still with laughter, song and shout
Spin the great wheel of earth about.'

Other theologians, from F. D. Maurice to Dr. Scott Holland, have dwelt on Christian dogma—especially the doctrine of the Trinity—rather as interwoven with man's deepest ethical needs than as consonant with his highest speculative thought, but Canon Carnegie's treatment of the subject is by no means without originality even apart from the autobiographical claims and touches which give it modest place in the literature of which the *Confessions*, the *Life* and other spiritual writings of St. Teresa, and the *Apologia* are classics and which is wide enough to include the *Religio Medici* and Amiel's *Journal Intime*.

¹ Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order*, p. 380.

The doctrines which Canon Carnegie selects are The Trinity, The Resurrection of the Body and—in a rather curious collocation and a somewhat undogmatic sense of his own—The Real Presence. There is a certain felicitous boldness in his argument that the miracle of the Resurrection is necessary to rationalize nineteen centuries of history, but he might have gone a step further in applying this thought to the Eucharist, in connexion with his third doctrine—The Real Presence. In Maclear's Boyle Lectures for 1879-80 this extension is pressed with persuasive force. 'The early (*i.e.* Primitive) celebration of the Holy Eucharist—remains and for ever must remain an absolutely unintelligible phenomenon without the fact of the Resurrection. As the Memorial of a Death and nothing more it is absolutely meaningless.'

There is, indeed, in Canon Carnegie's treatment of this third point—the Real Presence—amid much that is illuminating, something that is ambiguous, if not obscure. 'The Church,' he says, 'has all along drawn the obvious inference that her Lord's emphatic declaration as to the necessity of participation in this Flesh and Blood found its sequel in the rite established at the Last Supper,' but he adds 'She has never held, indeed, that the Holy Communion is the only means of participation but she has always held that it is one of the chief and necessary means.' This seems to require both proof as an assertion and explanation as a doctrine. And a little later we read :

'His promise to give His disciples His Body and Blood to be their food and drink can only mean a promise that He would place means at their disposal the right use of which would enable them to participate in the essential principle of His manhood, carrying with it that of His Personal Life, human and divine. And one at any rate of these means He specified in the most direct manner when, having blessed the Bread and Wine, He used the words "Take, eat, this is My Body : drink ye all of this, this is My Blood." If words mean anything, these words must mean that—just as He had once, through the medium of five small loaves, satisfied the physical needs of the hungry multitude—so now through very similar means He satisfies their complete needs.'

In all this there is, or seems to be, a hint of that subjective and contingent view of the Presence which Archbishop Temple lived to reject. The five loaves not only *fed* the multitude, but supplied concrete and objective fragments to be gathered in baskets. It is not quite clear to what extent Canon Carnegie's parallel is meant to hold,

The Great Society: a Psychological Analysis. By GRAHAM WALLAS. (Macmillan. 1914.) 7s. 6d. net.

MR. GRAHAM WALLAS has long been known as an independent thinker upon social and political questions. He was one of the contributors to the Fabian Society's volume of *Essays* which some years ago secured a place for itself in social literature, and in articles and lectures he has continued to make contributions to current thought. Mr. Wallas has moved gradually away from the narrow lines marked out by Rationalism of several kinds. The appeal to Reason had been made by the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, and it had been discovered to be incompetent to reach conclusions compelling general assent. Man is a reasoning animal, certainly; but he is also much else: in studying his life in Society there are many mental forces besides reasoning to be taken into account. How life works in these other ranges Mr. Wallas shewed in his *Human Nature in Politics*, published in 1908, a book which attracted wide attention, well-merited by its choice of illustrations shewing how very human man insists on being even in affairs of State. This volume led to an invitation to its writer to go over to Harvard in 1910, and there he held a 'discussion-course' in which he went forward with his method. The volume before us is, as he says, 'a development of the material' used in that course.

Mr. Wallas takes up the conception of a large modern State, which he calls the Great Society,—by analogy, we suppose, with the Great Commerce of which political economists speak,—and proceeds to investigate its working. For this purpose he has gone to psychology to seek its recent methods and results, and especially to Dr. McDougall whose *Social Psychology* has given a new turn to the study in England. It is not necessary here to do more than indicate how eminently suitable for Mr. Wallas' purpose Dr. McDougall's psychology is. There we find great attention given to the Instincts and Emotions, and especially to the conception of what are called 'Dispositions.' These, in many variations, exist and work outside and below the very small part of mind which at any moment is in the focus. They store up our past experiences, and are there all the while, not only passively, but as inclinations, tendencies, and influences. Amongst these the disposition to follow clear and articulated reasoning is only one; and though it is eminent in value and

importance, endless misapprehensions of man's social life have arisen from treating it as the only disposition requiring our attention or our allegiance. Another claimant to predominance is dethroned by the disallowance of the supremacy of Pleasure as motive-power. It is there, and it exercises great influence, but Bentham and the Utilitarians have been as hopelessly wrong as the Epicureans of old in vesting it with sovereignty. In dealing with Pleasure Mr. Wallas sets out clearly the old Aristotelian distinction between Pleasure and Happiness, and it is to the latter that he is able to assign a place among the nobler dispositions, of course. He does not profess to be a discoverer in psychology, but he draws on his own observations for his examples, and succeeds in placing the results of the wider psychology now dominant at the disposal of the students of social life.

Mr. Wallas then proceeds to some constructive work: he wants to exhibit human society on the large scale—such as we understand by such a term as Civilization; and he works it out in three directions: Organization of Thought, of Will, and of Happiness. He brings up the varied material which he has collected during many years of observation, discussion, and reading, and students of sociology and history will follow him as pilgrims would follow a well-travelled guide who offered new explorations over a field which had of late grown somewhat arid and dull. Readers will find discussions of the methods of forming political opinions, and of organizing intelligence in the Civil Service of a State—Mr. Wallas was himself one of the members of the Royal Commission on our English Civil Service—and in commerce and industry. In the organization of Will we have a study of property as an instrument of social activity; of the Democratic State (Socialism); and of the newly risen form of association by occupations (Syndicalism). And a glimpse is taken over the conditions of bringing about international association. The greatest scope for originality is given in his third topic, the attempt to shew how society works as an organization for the promotion of happiness. That increase of industrial efficiency does not of necessity ensure increase of happiness we all of us suppose to be true; Mr. Wallas confirms this, and shews in many cases why it fails. He considers, it is interesting to note, that the defects in methodical provision for woman's happiness constitute a source of the demand arising, in some nations at least, that women should have a direct share in the government of society in the

sphere hitherto reserved, under the title of political activity, for men. In general treatment of social problems Mr. Wallas shews how often we must be content with the guidance offered by the conception of the Mean, though he does not fail to see how, now and again, no middle course is tolerable, but the extreme must be insisted upon; under pain of arresting progress we cannot dispense with firm loyalty to quite definite ideals.

It might be urged as a criticism of the volume as a whole that some of the space devoted to psychology might have been spared—it is about three-fifths of the work—and references given to the works of psychologists themselves. But we scarcely think that readers will find any real grievance: here as in the constructive portion we are solaced by a wealth of illustrations and of *obiter dicta* in matters of history and of contemporary life which we for our part would by no means desire to have been left to Mr. Wallas' lectures, conversations, or note-books. For a single example we would commend the discussion on War (under the rubric, Hatred) in Chapter IX.

To readers of this *Review* the suggestion may be offered that they could carry forward for themselves the employment of Mr. Wallas' method by employing it in the sphere of Religion. We might consider how Thought and Belief have been 'organized' in the Christian Society as well as in the State; how Activity is organized in the structure of the Church; and how the Church has proceeded, and is proceeding, in the furtherance of Happiness conceived as spiritual. It may well be that workers in Church History ought to take note that the Intellectual or Rational factor of the Christian mind has been well worked, though by no means entirely worked out, in the past, and that the history of life in the Christian Society can now be effectively studied on new lines by means of the psychological and sociological methods which have given freshness and animation to the study of the life of Secular Society, as shewn in such books as the one before us.

VII. LITURGICA AND HYMNOLOGY.

*The Book of Common Prayer among the Nations of the World :
A History of Translations of the Prayer Book of the Church of
England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.*
By W. MUSS-ARNOLT, B.D., Ph.D. A Study, based mainly

on the Collection of JOSIAH HENRY BENTON, LL.D.
(S.P.C.K. 1914.) 7s. 6d. net.

THERE are times when even the hardened bibliographer is fain to confess himself surprised, and probably few readers would expect to find a well-known writer on Assyriology making a catalogue of Prayer Books, still less to find such a catalogue an unusually stimulating work on Foreign Missions. And yet it is only familiarity which makes us forget the romance of the history of the 'talking-leaf' of the Palefaces, and want of familiarity which makes us fail to realize that that romance has been, and is being, repeated again and again as an almost necessary accompaniment of the work of preaching the Gospel. The schoolboy learns the story—not always very accurately told him—of Coster and Gutenberg and Caxton; but it is seldom that he hears the fascinating tale of the making of alphabets and syllabaries, of the reduction of a language for the first time to writing, of the production of translations and the cutting of founts of type. There are probably few boys who on being shewn a book printed for the Cree Indians would not want to know something of the people for whom it was intended, and though it may be said that the peculiar character of the script makes this rather a special case it is not a solitary example. The common assertion that the neglect or inadequate support of missionary work is due to indifference and defective imagination might surely be allowed to give place to the inquiry how far efforts are being made, systematically and scientifically, to turn that indifference into interest and to awaken the imagination of which the absence is so readily assumed. Of course the task is not easy, for even Lord Salisbury's advice to his countrymen to study large maps demands a capacity to interpret them, and how difficult it is for even the educated Englishman to learn to think imperially may be judged from the really pathetic history of the efforts to establish a School of Oriental Studies in the chief city of the Empire, or the story of the Colonial Conferences. But it remains a fact that those branches of Mission work are best supported of which people have been told most about the ordinary daily life of the missionaries and those among whom they do their work—the one thing which according to a common complaint missionaries when at home seem to find it most difficult to describe.

Dr. Muss-Arnolt's book contains in its seventy-five chapters an almost exhaustive account of the versions of the Prayer Book

or parts of it in the different languages of the world, other than English. In the first three, which are introductory, he gives a general survey and a discussion both of the linguistic training of the missionary and the layman's estimate of his work and influence. Upon the subject of training the writer holds strong views. He appeals to the testimony of Pilkington of Uganda as to the enormous waste of time and energy and influence that is caused by sending out men who have made no special comparative study of language, and consequently have everything to learn, and he suggests as the remedy :

' the establishment of special interdenominational schools in which young men from all the denominations of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and the United States, being candidates for the work in the foreign field, would receive, above all else, a thorough linguistic training and instruction in the ethnology, history and folk-lore of the nation or nations among whom they intend to work as missionaries ; schools in which languages would be taught and instruction given in pertinent subjects that lie outside the curriculum of our large universities and colleges.'

He points to what has been done for the teaching of Oriental languages in Germany, France, and Austria, and insists that

' such schools established in England, and open to candidates from all the denominations of the land who have previously received the required theological preparation, would bring about better and quicker results than the millions of money spent for missionary work along the traditional lines of the past century or two have been able to accomplish.'

At the same time it is only fair to add that full justice is done to the truly remarkable story of the many versions which have been produced in spite of what might have seemed almost insuperable difficulties. This story fills seventy-two chapters with quite admirable bibliographies, an Appendix, Chronological Tables, and two Indexes. The account of each version is accompanied in most cases by a collation of the editions and short but very interesting biographical details of those responsible for them. There are no doubt in the book some forms of expression which sound a little strange in our insular ears, and some details which might be supplemented without great difficulty, but our general impression after testing it for a large number of out-of-the-way editions is one of admiration for the high standard of accuracy

achieved. It is very seldom indeed that anything of importance has been missed. Of one edition which he appears not to have actually seen, though he mentions it, Dr. Muss-Arnolt may be glad to know more. This is the new translation of the Prayer Book in Welsh edited by Ellis Wynne in 1709. The title-page is

LLYFR | *Gweddi Gyffredin,* | A Gweinidogaeth
y | SACRAMENTAU. | A | Chynneddfau a Cere-
moniau | Eraill yr Eglwys, | yn ôl arfer | EGLWYS
LOEGR. | Ynghyd a'r | PSALLWYR neu PSALMAU |
DAFYDD | Wedi Nodi | IIV DARLLAIN a'u CANU
| YN YR | EGLWYSYDD.

A Brintiwyd yn LLUNDAIN ag ar werth gan *Edm : Powell yn Black-fryars, a Rob. Whittedge yn Ave-Mary lane, a C. Browne yn Newgate Street, 1709.*

It has Archdeacon Prys' Metrical Version at the end, and is a bibliographical curiosity owing to the omission of the Ninth Commandment.

A few more scattered notes may be added. Mr. W. G. Walton's Eskimo Hymns are mentioned, but not his Cree Indian translation in 1907. The Russian version of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels issued by S.P.C.K. in 1882 might be noted : and was not the first edition of the modern Greek version of the Prayer Book by Leeves published in 1834? We suspect that Elias Petley who was responsible for the first complete Greek version was the scholar of Peterhouse who was admonished in 1614 for disorderly conduct. He took his B.A. degree in 1614-5 and his M.A. in 1618, however, according to Dr. Venn. According to the same authority, to whom all students of University history owe so much, the Gilpin who translated the Prayer Book into Latin verse in 1657 was named Randall and was a fellow of King's College. If the John O'Kearnagh who made the first Irish version of it in 1608 be the Carney or Keerne who entered at Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1561 and took his B.A. degree in 1564-5, some of the statements on pp. 81-2 must be modified ; but the identification is perhaps doubtful. On p. 22 read 'Oxonieneses' ; on p. 156 read '1637' for '1837.' On p. 272 for 'Shaw Whigg' read 'Stone Wigg' ; and on p. 315 read 'Harford-Battersby.' Bishop Maples' name was 'Chauncy.'

There is very much more that might be said both from the point of view of the historian and that of the bibliographer ; but we hope that its interest and, for its size, its cheapness will win

for the book many readers. Of one thing we are certain : that no one will lay it aside without having received a deep impression of the wonderful services rendered to the Church by the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to which the printing of so many of these versions is due.

The Canticles of the Christian Church, Eastern and Western, in Early and Medieval Times. By JAMES MEARNs, M.A., Vicar of Rushden, Buntingford. (Cambridge : at the University Press. 1914.) 6s. net.

THIS volume contains a series of valuable notes on the different uses of Christendom with regard to Canticles, based on the examination of a large number of MSS written in many different languages and preserved in many different libraries. The systematic and careful work that produces it is worthy of all praise : and the volume is a very valuable aid to study and investigation for liturgical students. The Cambridge Press is to be thanked for it as well as the author, for books of this sort, invaluable as they are to scholars, are not likely to meet with a wide circle of purchasers. The greater part of the space is taken up with a very practical account of the MSS of each use investigated in turn and of the canticles contained in them. The author in his brief 'Introductory Notice' calls attention to one or two points that emerge from the comparison of rites ; but for the most part he is content to present his materials, and to leave others to utilize them. Probably his own handling of them will be found in a volume which he has undertaken for the Cambridge series of 'Handbooks of Liturgical Study.' The Eastern series of Nine Odes seems to lie behind the usual sets in different uses. Mr. Mearns does not think it traceable in the East earlier than the Sixth century. But there is something to be said for interpreting the passage in *The Testament of our Lord* (ii 22), which he quotes as implying at any rate a ninefold set of canticles, the first sung by boys, the second and third by virgins, the next group of three by deacons, and the last group by priests. The Latin evidence which he quotes from Niceta seems also to point to the Eastern Nine Odes and perhaps more exactly than he suggests, for the reference to Jeremiah need not be pressed. A very interesting set of problems of early liturgiology are raised and their solution greatly facilitated by this valuable piece of work.

Early Latin Hymnaries. An Index of Hymns in Hymnaries before 1100, with an Appendix from later sources. By JAMES MEARNs, M.A., Vicar of Rushden, Buntingford. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1913.) 5s. net.

THE same co-operation between Mr. Mearns and the Cambridge Press has provided another very valuable help for students. The early hymns deserve separate treatment, for it is from them that the staple series is derived which forms the steady groundwork of most Latin hymnaries. The research of men like Dreves, Blume, and the rest has shewn what a vast number of additions were manufactured to supplement the main series. It is well to have them in the numberless volumes of *Analecta Hymnica*, and to have an index like that of Chevalier which is gradually becoming comprehensive. But from this profusion of local and secondary matter one returns with relief to the older and primary hymns which Mr. Mearns here sets out. Over 120 Hymnaries have been indexed: they are classified according to their date and provenance; and then follows an alphabetical list of the hymns, their occasion and their authorship, with references to the printed sources where each can be found in full, and the symbols of the various MSS in which they occur. Thus a far more thorough insight into the use and diffusion of an early hymn can be gained here than even by searching for it in the various volumes of Chevalier or attempting to trace it out in the *corpus* of *Analecta Hymnica*. What we miss here, as there, is the corresponding index which takes each MS in turn and indicates which of the hymns it contains. From some points of view this is even more important than what this book provides: and we hope that Mr. Mearns may in some form let us have the benefit of his investigations worked out in such a way. It is too much to expect that each handler of the book will go through it and recast the information in the other form as Mr. Mearns suggests that he should do: and probably he will not want—what this process would make him—an alphabetical list of the hymns occurring in each MS, but a rational list, arranged according to their use.

VIII. CANON LAW.

The Canon Law. By the Rev. R. S. MYLNE, B.C.L., F.S.A. With a Preface by J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D. (Morrison and Gibb Ltd.)

THE title of this book is so wide in scope that it may quite

fairly be used to cover anything relating to its subject that its author may feel disposed to write about. To some it will call up memories of masses of somewhat crabbed text with yet larger masses of still more crabbed footnotes in poor italic type. Mr. Mylne prefers the pleasant spaciousness of fair white margin and bold type in which to present his readers with a running summary of the Roman Canon law and the English Provincial Constitutions and Canons, together with an interesting account of the manuscripts of portions of the Canon Law which are to be found in various great libraries of Europe. This is further adorned with two beautiful illustrations from the great MS of Gratian in the library at Madrid. The book does not, as will be seen, challenge comparison with the wealth of erudition to be found in Dr. C. H. Turner's great work *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* or Hinschius' edition of the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* or the writings of Professor Maitland ; but it is interesting as well as pleasant to read, and contains some unpublished materials relating to Scotland which the student will be glad to have. Dr. Thomson's Introduction is concerned to bring out the dependence of Scotland upon England in some rather curious details.

IX. TOPOGRAPHY.

Highways and Byways in Shakespeare's Country. By W. H. HUTTON. With Illustrations by EDMUND H. NEW. (Macmillan. 1914.) 5s. net.

THERE are some books that give their readers from the outset the impression of the writer's own affection for the subject, and make them feel that they are being admitted, as it were, into the circle of his friends and allowed the happy privilege of going about with him and hearing him talk of the things which he loves. They are not books to be ordered from the library because other people are talking about them, but belong to that much smaller class which must be possessed to be enjoyed at leisure. For such works the publication of a series is an opportunity rather than cause, for they cannot be made merely to order.

In the volume before us, which one reader at least deems to belong to that select company, the Archdeacon of Northampton has set himself to describe a country which, as he tells us, he has known for nearly forty years. Of the writing of it he says that

he 'undertook his pleasant task, with a light and happy heart, more than four years ago.' In Mr. New's illustrations we have the good fortune to find not a mere supplement because the book must have pictures, but an integral part—a help meet for the text, yet without the loss of the proper individuality. We smile to see this independence itself illustrated at the outset by a difference of opinion between artist and writer as to the spelling of Compton Winyates. It is from there, or rather from the Four-Shires Stone, that Mr. Hutton sets out on his pilgrimage through the country of Shakespeare. Probably everyone who knows it at all well has his own views as to the best way in which to see Warwickshire lanes and villages and old-world towns—the great manufacturing centres of a later day, with the exception of Coventry, the writer leaves with the courtesy of a passing reference, for 'Shakespeare's land is the land of country villages and old cities, old houses and quiet streams.' The space that is thus saved enables us to make excursions in his company into Northamptonshire and Worcestershire to scenes which the poet knew as well as his own county. Like all true lovers of the country, Mr. Hutton allows himself many digressions from the broad highway, and this is true of his history as well as of his journeyings. To some he will seem perhaps unmethodical: what has Dr. Routh of Magdalen hearing confessions to do with Shakespeare's country, and is not the transition from one century to another sometimes rather abrupt? Perhaps so; but anyone with imagination will see many generations living at the same time as he looks at any old English town or village, and Dr. Routh played a very important part in the life of a certain good Warwickshire squire and parson. For our part we refuse to quarrel with Mr. Hutton because he writes a guide-book with a difference and his people live.

Highways and Byways in Lincolnshire. By WILLINGHAM FRANKLIN RAWNSLEY. With Illustrations by FREDERICK L. GRIGGS. (Macmillan. 1914.) 5s. net.

YET another popular book of county history. This one however should prove to be a very acceptable addition to the many which we already have on Lincolnshire alone, a county sometimes imagined, by those who know it not, to be singularly wanting in beauty or interest. It was not so thought of by Alfred Lord Tennyson or his accomplished brothers, who were born and brought up in a Lincolnshire parsonage, nor is it by others who

have known the county all their lives, or have made its acquaintance. Mr. Rawnsley rightly describes it as 'a land of constantly occurring magnificent views, a land of hill as well as of plain, and beyond all others a county teeming with splendid churches.' It cannot be seen properly by railway, but only by motor or self-driven wheels, now that horse work is almost obsolete; in this book the tours are arranged with that idea, and illustrated by a good road-map. The churches are, of course, the most frequently recurring subjects, and they are dealt with in a capable and sympathetic manner, as are all other ancient buildings. But the writer is not by any means one to confine himself to dry details. He has a keen eye for the beauties of nature, and any specially attractive sight of plants or animals, or any glorious prospect, sets him off at once into words of hearty admiration, which compel the reader to share his enjoyment. Again, he thoroughly understands the humour, conscious or unconscious, of those who have been called, by someone who did not know them, 'Lincolnshire's dull peasants.' We have marked something like a dozen characteristic *facetiae*, but will not record them here. Half their charm is in the way in which they come in. Something reminds the author of a good thing, and down it goes for the amusement of his readers. We note that churches and places are treated somewhat unequally. They are not, *mutatis mutandis*, all alike, as they would be if worked through by someone with no real interest in the subject, for Mr. Rawnsley writes *con amore*, and is naturally at his best in describing places that have specially interested him, while some few are dismissed, as we think, in somewhat too cursory a fashion. Monumental and other inscriptions, which are too often full of mistakes as given in books, and sometimes with absolutely impossible readings, are here, we believe, all given correctly. We have observed only one mistake, and that is a mere printer's error. There are other misprints in names of places etc., that could easily be set right in a future edition, which will, we venture to think, be required. There are some points in which we think the writer is mistaken. The Lincolnshire Wolds are a well-defined district, and the term 'Wold' ought not to be extended to the Cliff, another well-defined district. Names of streets ending in -gate afford no indication of a walled town, 'gate' having been a northern term for a street. The stone screen in the west arch of the central tower in a Benedictine church, with its two doors, is not 'contrary to usual custom,' but in accordance therewith. The Haven at Barton-on-Humber ought to have been so

described in connexion with the illustration. Some readers will at once correct these matters for themselves ; others, if interested, will find out the truth sooner or later. They do not greatly detract from the general merits of the book, which are great, and we cannot imagine a more delightful summer occupation than to motor over Lincolnshire with this book and a congenial companion, together with a competent driver. Much of the pleasure and advantage of the excursion would be lost if the traveller had to think about and attend to the motor himself. We must add a word in praise of the illustrations, which are done from the artistic rather than the architectural point of view, and the works of an artist afford quite a pleasant change after the immense number of reproduced photographs that we now see day by day. In the copy before us the frontispiece seems to err in the direction of softness, but perhaps it has been accidentally underprinted. All the rest, and there are over a hundred, are delightful. !

X. BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Abbas II. By the EARL OF CROMER. (Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1915.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE rapid march of events in Egypt and the deposition of the late Khedive have given Lord Cromer the opportunity of publishing certain chapters which he was obliged to omit from his book on *Modern Egypt*, with the purpose of reviewing the present situation, and of producing a work which is in our opinion of the greatest value for the lessons that it conveys in political philosophy and Oriental statesmanship. We should particularly emphasize the value of his remarks on the importance of a low rate of taxation. It is because the inhabitants of Egypt and the Soudan know that there is nothing burdensome in the taxes they have to endure that they do not believe foreign emissaries and agitators when they tell them that they are grossly oppressed.

'The corner-stone of Egyptian and Soudanese policy should be a full recognition of the fact that in the absence of ties, such as community of race, language, religion, and social customs, the only link between the governors and the governed is to be found in material interests, and amongst these interests by far the most important is the imposition of light fiscal burthens. I hold therefore

that the political conditions with which we have to deal are such that all other considerations must yield to the necessity of keeping taxation low.'

Such a policy will always be unpopular. English people 'have recently experienced an expansion of State expenditure and an increase of public burdens which, but a few years ago, would have been scouted as impossible, with the result that public opinion on the subject of economy has become demoralized.'

Costly education is unwise. 'Personally I do not believe that such education as can be imparted in the schools and colleges will ever render the Egyptians capable of self-government without some transformation of the national character.' Costly administration always is equally unwise. There must be cautious and slow advance to the extent that the resources of the country will bear.

Equally instructive are the lessons as to how to manage a fractious Oriental ruler. We must remember that the position in which Lord Cromer was placed was this: on the one side the existing political situation had to be upheld—for various reasons which we need not go into, the country had to be governed by means of the native ruler; on the other hand the country had to be well governed. Under the former Khedive this had been easy enough so far as he was concerned. With the succession of Abbas there was a change. He was weak, corrupt, wilful, and tyrannical, and wished not at all unnaturally from his point of view to throw off the British yoke.

This could not be allowed. But there must if possible be no open rupture. Patience and determination were Lord Cromer's great weapons. He never put his foot down except in a case where he knew he must win. Here is an instance. During the South African war a black battalion broke into mutiny. The Khedive was believed to have encouraged them. They were punished. But how was the Khedive to be treated? His complicity could not be proved.

'I thought it desirable to ignore altogether his alleged complicity with the mutineers. I dwelt, therefore, wholly on the grave disloyalty which some of his troops had displayed towards his own person, and suggested that he should see the condemned men, and address them in words which were of my own choice and which I had caused to be translated into Arabic. The Khedive thus found himself on the horns of a dilemma, for refusal and assent to my proposal were probably highly distasteful to him. If he refused, he laid himself open to grave suspicion of having fomented

a mutiny in his own army, as his grandfather had done before him. If he consented, it would at once become apparent to the mutineers that they could expect no effective help from him, and that his influence for evil in the army would, to say the least, be greatly impaired. As I anticipated he chose the latter course.'

No doubt very humiliating. We might almost be sorry for Abbas. But after all it is more important that the country should be well governed than that a weak and foolish young man should be free to rouse up civil war.

We should recommend those who want a lesson in statesmanship to read carefully the history of the more important incident recorded in p. 51 ff., and take the lesson to heart.

'One of my main objects in writing,' says Lord Cromer, 'is to give to those of my countrymen who may hereafter be engaged in Oriental administration or diplomacy, a series of examples, showing how questions such as those which have from time to time arisen in Egypt have been treated. I leave it to them to judge whether the treatment was or was not successful.'

Sir Francis Sharp Powell, Baronet and Member of Parliament : A Memoir. By his Nephew H. L. P. HULBERT, M.A., M.D. (Leeds: Jackson. 1914.) 6s. net.

WE are much indebted to Dr. Hulbert for this Memoir of Sir Francis Sharp Powell. His task has not been an easy one. To condense within the compass of less than two hundred pages the record of a long life of a strenuous and indefatigable champion of the Church and of a moderate Conservatism, the hero of nineteen contested Parliamentary elections, the unwearied advocate and munificent supporter of religious education, the promoter of sanitary and social reform, calls for no little skill in the selection of the more salient features. Such compression necessarily involves exclusion of details in many branches of Powell's life-work, as for instance, his energetic efforts for Church defence, of which we would gladly have a more adequate account. But as it stands the Memoir presents us with the portrait of a really noble character, a man of infinite capacity for taking pains, who devoted his great abilities and his ample fortune to the glory of God and the benefit of his fellow-men.

To begin with his Church work, Dr. Hulbert writes in his Preface :

'Sir Francis was constantly giving away large sums of money for public purposes. Comparatively few of these gifts are mentioned

here. His method of giving is well illustrated by an anecdote, which has the authority of Canon Leach. Soon after the consecration of All Saints' Church, Sir Francis' princely gift to Bradford, it was decided to proceed with another of the ten new churches required by the town, as a memorial to Mr. Charles Hardy. A question was raised in committee as to whether sittings for 500 or 600 persons should be provided. Sir Francis happened to be there and asked that the decision should be postponed. Within a few days he wrote to the Secretary: "I have been to see the ground; the sight of that population is irresistible; the church must be for 600. This means an additional cost of 500*l.* for which I will send you my cheque in January."

The present writer recalls an incident which may serve as a fitting pendant to this quotation. About this same time Powell promised 1000*l.* towards the rebuilding or enlargement of the parish church of a neighbouring manufacturing centre, then rapidly growing. While the plan was under discussion the vicar of the parish called to request that the church should not be made so large as was proposed, *because his voice was not very strong*. The reader can imagine how the suggestion was received. 'It is to be hoped, Sir, that the parish will some day have a vicar with a stronger voice than yours' was the crushing reply. It was not often that Powell was moved to so stern a rejoinder. His liberality, which was literally lifelong, was practised in accordance with the precept 'He that giveth let him do it with simplicity.'

The unique story of nineteen contested Parliamentary elections is told in two consecutive chapters, to which we may add some further details. The contest for the North-West division of the West Riding in 1872 was undertaken and won in the face of an adverse estimate of a thousand votes on the most sanguine review of the register. At the general election two years later Powell was strongly urged by personal friends not to stand again if a second Unionist candidate was nominated, and his own judgement coincided with this advice; but with wonted self-effacement he yielded to the pressure of hot-headed partisans, and accepted without a murmur their ill-judged and fatal decision to run a second man. One more highly characteristic anecdote must not be omitted. On his return from an unsuccessful contest he was asked, 'Do you know that you lost owing to your answer to a certain question which was craftily designed to trip you up?' 'Yes,' he replied, 'I knew it at the time, but I was not going to jeopardize a great industry for the sake of a seat in the Commons.'

It was but a tardy recognition of his great services when, in 1892, Powell received a baronetcy. Men with less than half his claims to such public recognition had been frequently preferred before him. But Powell was too independent for a thick and thin partisan. He would not wink at a doubtful party manœuvre. He would at times ask inconvenient questions. He was not a brilliant speaker, but his unsparing industry, his transparent straightforwardness and his genuine *bonhomie* gradually won the ear of the House and gained universal respect and regard. He was said to be one of only three men in the House who read every word of each Bill that was brought in. 'We all love him' was the generous testimony of the chief Liberal whip under Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's administration.

For the cause of education, elementary, secondary and university, Powell worked in and out of season. A few rough touches must suffice to illustrate how wide and how munificent were his activities. He upheld the importance of religious education in our elementary schools, and was a staunch friend of the National Society. 'You can always rely on Powell,' said one of its secretaries, 'he never shirks work.' He took great interest in the welfare of the grammar schools of Bradford, Wigan and Sedbergh. Of this last he might justly be called the second founder. His gifts to it 'included school buildings, the gymnasium, the Powell Hall, the cricket-field, the east window of the chapel, the fives courts and the workshop. He also often made up awkward deficiencies in its accounts.' For twenty-one years he only once failed to preside at the annual speech-day—visits which were continued to within four months of his death at the age of eighty-four, and which 'always involved a special journey from London and back, generally at the weary end of a Parliamentary session.' To the Mining and Mechanical College at Wigan, to the Yorkshire College and to the University of Leeds he was a generous benefactor. To the latter, which honoured him by electing him Treasurer and made him Hon. LL.D., his donations amounted to 5000*l.* We must pass over the social and sanitary work as well as the chapters on private life and travel contained in Dr. Hulbert's admirably printed and well-illustrated Memoir. We may fittingly conclude in the words of the late Bishop of Carlisle. 'If England possessed one hundred members of Parliament of the sterling worth of Francis Sharp Powell, humble, honest, and fearless, one who never knew an idle hour, wise, patriotic, God-fearing, the face of Society, the position of Church and State alike would be transfigured.'

Patriotic War Songs and Poems for Fleet, Camp, and Country.
Compiled by M. A. A. L. (Spottiswoode and Co. Ltd.
1914.) 4d.

THERE are many people to whom the songs which the British soldier chooses to sing seem as incongruous as the sight of a Brondesbury omnibus on the roads of northern France, and we can easily imagine how distressing they must be to the sense of fitness of serious-minded Teutonic professors and officers engaged in 'Hymns of Hate' and similar compositions of 'frightfulness' appropriate to a great occasion. As a matter of psychology we are inclined to think that the soldier's instinct is a truer one than that of the good people who would have the whole country live in a state of high emotional tension for months without regard to the very real danger of hysteria. 'Tipperary' is not a great song, but it is quite a good one for marching because it serves its purpose.

The stress of war is always provocative of verse, and sometimes of poetry. To judge from what has appeared in the newspapers, and notably in *The Times*, the present crisis has called forth rather an unusual number of poems inspired by genuine feeling. These are, however, admittedly only a small proportion of the whole output; and the reflexion which this suggests is confirmed by the booklet which is before us. The compiler, whose initials many will have little difficulty in expanding, has chosen the thirty-four pieces that it contains from a wide field, since Shakespeare and Newbolt, Byron and Browning, Scott and Tennyson, Isaac Watts and Garrick, are all represented as well as Heber and Macaulay and Wordsworth and Campbell among many others. Probably most readers could form a list of their own, and it would certainly include a large number of those here selected with the addition of Milton, who for some reason is absent. But it is impossible not to be struck by two features of the collection: first, that so few of the 'Patriotic Poems' were actually composed in the circumstances of war; secondly, the comparative scarcity of 'Patriotic War Songs' among the number. We do not say this in criticism of the compiler, for the little book deserves a wide circulation. We are given 'Rule Britannia' and 'The British Grenadiers,' but the exalted literary company in which they find themselves only serves to illustrate how few war songs there are in English which are likely to be sung outside the concert-room.

PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. XVI. No. 62. January 1915. Milford). A. Spagnolo and C. H. Turner: 'An Ancient Homiliary,' I. (From Cod. Veron. LI.) H. St. J. Thackeray: 'The Song of Hannah and other Lessons and Psalms for the Jewish New Year's Day.' F. J. Badcock: 'The Council of Constantinople and the Nicene Creed.' A. C. Clark: 'The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts. A Rejoinder' (To Dr. Sanday, *Oxford Magazine*, June 4, 1914; Dr. Souter, *Review of Theol. and Philosophy*, August 14, 1914; and Sir F. G. Kenyon, *C.Q.R.* Oct. 1914). B. T. D. Smith: 'Apollos and the Twelve Disciples at Ephesus.' H. G. Evelyn White: 'The Second Oxyrhynchus Saying.' A. van Hoonacker: 'Zech. i 8, 10 s.; vi 1 ss. and the *Dul-azaq* of the Babylonians.' A. Nairne: 'Ps. lviii 10 (9).' J. Mearns: 'The Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum.' E. W. Brooks: 'Note on the Word "Bazar"' ('Bazar' or 'Treatise'?). C. Steenbuch: 'Minuscule MS Evan. 559 (xi Cent.).' M. R. James: 'Peeters *Évangiles Apocryphes*. II. *L'Évangile de l'Enfance*.' 'Budge *Coptic Martyrdoms . . . in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*' (critical); 'Crum *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri*.' E. Bevan: 'Burkitt *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*.' J. H. Srawley: 'Batiffol *L'Eucharistie* (3rd edit.)'; 'Storr *Concordantia ad IV libros . . . De Imitatione Christi a Thoma Kempensi*.' W. K. L. Clarke: 'Groton *The Christian Eucharist and the Pagan Cults*'; 'Morin *L'Idéal monastique*.' C. C. J. Webb: 'Booth *Collected Essays of Eucken* [E.T.]' (3½ pp.). C. H. W. Johns: 'Deimel *Pantheon Babylonicum*'; 'Jastrow *Babylonian-Assyrian Birth Omens*.' A. C. Paues: 'Tucker *The Later Version of the Wycliffite Epistle to the Romans*.' L. E. Binns: 'H. P. Smith *The Religion of Israel*'; 'Cohu *Vital Problems of Religion*.' S. C. Carpenter: 'Shebbeare *Religion in an Age of Doubt*'; 'Drawbridge *Common Objections to Christianity*'; 'Carnegie *Democracy and Christian Doctrine*.' H. L. Jackson: 'Anderson *The Man of Nazareth*'; 'Hankey *The Lord of all Good Life*.' S. A. Cook: 'Chronicle: The History of Religions.'

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. XIII. No. 2. January 1915. Williams and Norgate). L. Noël: 'The Soul of Belgium.' P. Vinogradoff: 'The Slavophile Creed.' Hon. E. Lyttelton: 'What next?' 'Récit d'un Professeur de Louvain réfugié en Angleterre.' J. Sully: 'Göttingen in the Sixties.' H. Strong: 'The Jews as viewed through Roman Spectacles.' J. Moffatt: 'George Meredith and his Fighting Men.' E. Willmore: '"Why we are fighting." A Reply' (to Sir H. Jones, *H.J.* Oct. 1914). F. S. Marvin: 'The Unity of Civilisation.' L. T. More: 'The Scientific Claims of Eugenics.' D. N. Paton: 'A Physiologist's View of Life and Mind.' G. Haw: 'The Religious Revival in the Labour Movement.' D. A. Wilson: 'Germans and Tartars and a Chinese Patriot' (Wen-Tien-Hsiang). G. H. Powell: 'Thoughts on Pacifism.' G. Dawes Hicks: 'Survey of Recent Philosophical Literature.' J. Moffatt: 'Survey of Recent Theological Literature.' R. P. Farley: 'A Social Survey.' H. D. Oakeley: 'Wallas *The Great Society*.' O. W. Griffith: 'Driesch *The Problem of Individuality and Vitalism*.' H. W. Carr: 'Johnstone *The Philosophy of Biology*.' C. D. Broad: 'H. W. Carr *The Philosophy of Change*.' A. Wolf: 'C. D. Broad *Perception, Physics, and Reality*.' T. K. Cheyne: 'Minocchi *Il Pantheon. Origini del Cristianesimo*.' M. B. Owen: 'Tollinton *Clement of Alexandria*'; 'Patrick *Clement of Alexandria*.' J. A. Hill: 'Maeterlinck *The Unknown Guest* [E.T.].' J. Walker: 'Tyrrell *Essays on Faith and Immortality*.'

The Dublin Review (Vol. CLVI. No. 312. January 1915. Burns and Oates). L. Lawton: 'Germany's Great Failure.' W. Ward: (1) 'The Conduct of the German Soldier'; (2) 'The Interpretation of Treitschke.' J. M. Rope: 'The Letters of Jeanne D'Arc. An Epitome.'

W. Barry: 'The Lesson of Louvain.' H. Belloc: 'The Economics of War.' B. Warre Cornish: 'The Death of Mgr. Benson.' 'Notes on the War.' F. Y. Eccles: 'The French Awakening.' W. W[ard]: 'Adams Brown *The Allies of Faith*'; 'Buckle *Life of Disraeli*, III.' [Sir] B. C. A. W[indle]: 'Hutchinson *Life of Lord Avebury*.' 'Brett Young *Robert Bridges*.' 'Della Seta *Religion and Art*.' 'Lejeune *Introduction to the Mystical Life*' [E.T. by Basil Levett]. 'Plater *The Priest and Social Action*.' 'English Sermons and Homilies.' 'De Smet *Betrothment and Marriage*, II.' J. G. Vance: 'Chronicle of Recent Philosophical Works.'

The Irish Church Quarterly (Vol. VIII. No. 29. January 1915. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis). Bishop of Down: 'The Ethics of War.' R. A. P. Rogers: 'English Church Gothic' (Reviews Mr. F. Bond). G. F. Hamilton: 'The Eucharistic Prayer in the Primitive Church.' J. Redmond: 'Hinduism. I. Philosophic Hinduism.' T. C. Hammond: 'The Fascination of the Church of Rome. A Reply.' 'Warde Fowler *Roman Ideas of Deity in the Last Century before the Christian Era*.' 'Mearns *The Canticles of the Christian Church*.' 'Edmundson *The Church of Rome in the First Century*.' 'Thompson *The Offices of Baptism and Confirmation*.' 'Jones *The N.T. in the Twentieth Century*.' 'Day *The Ministry of the Church*.' H. J. L[awlor]: 'Masson *Robert Boyle*.' R. A. P. R[ogers]: 'Galloway *The Philosophy of Religion*.' 'Cooper-Marsdin *The Islands of Lerins*.' 'Property, its Duties and Rights.'

The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. X. No. 37. January 1915. Dublin: M. H. Gill). Mgr. M. O'Riordan: 'The Legacy of Christ.' H. Pope. 'Where are we in Pentateuchal Criticism? A Rejoinder to a Critic.' (Reply to Dr. Skinner.) D. Barry: 'Special Knowledge and the Just Price.' J. MacRory: '"The Son of Man."' M. Eaton: 'MacCaffrey *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution*.' J. O'Neill: 'Coffey *Ontology*' (4½ pp.). M. J. O'Donnell: 'Plater *The Priest and Social Action*'; 'Gerard *A Challenge to the Time-Spirit*'; 'Rickaby *Index to the Works of Card. Newman*.' J. Blowick: 'G. Roberts (Dean of Bangor) *Why We Believe that Christ Rose from the Dead*' ('worthy of high praise'); 'H. P. Denison *Visions of God*.' P. Cleary: 'W. Y. Fausset *The Values of the Cross*'; 'Lejeune *Introduction to the Mystical Life*' [E.T.]; 'Denison *Thoughts on Penance*' ('breezy in style and interesting in character'); 'McClure *Modernism and Traditional Christianity*' ('scholarly'). G. Pierse: 'Stiegele *Der Agenniesiebegriff in der griechischen Theologie des vierten Jahrhunderts*'; 'Pesch *Compendium Theologiae Dogmaticae*, II.' 'Roman Documents.' [Include a decision in favour of the Pauline authorship of Hebrews on the ground of Internal Evidence.]

The London Quarterly Review (No. 245. January 1915. C. H. Kelly). W. M. Crook: 'The War. Its Origin and Causes.' J. W. Lightley: 'The Recently-discovered Zadokite Fragments.' J. H. Moulton: 'Christianity and Defensive War.' G. A. Johnston: 'The Renaissance of Scholasticism.' E. E. Kellett: 'John Dryden, his Poetry and his Prose.' D. M. Jones: 'Nietzsche, Germany, and the War.' W. A. Tatchell: 'The Medical College Movement in China.' S. Nihal Singh: 'India's Part in the War.' W. T. Davison: 'The Future of Judaism.' 'W. M. Macgregor *Christian Freedom*.' 'Figgis *The Fellowship of the Mystery*.' 'Oesterley *The Books of the Apocrypha*.' 'Wicks *The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature*.' 'S. A. Cook *The Study of Religions*.' 'Carnegie *Democracy and Christian Doctrine*.' 'D. S. Sharp *Epictetus and the N.T.*' 'Hutchinson *Life of Lord Avebury*.' 'Cobb *Spiritual Healing*.'

The Interpreter (Vol. XI. No. 2. January 1915. R. Scott). Bishop of Carlisle: 'Biblical Criticism.' E. Underhill: 'The Mystic and the Corporate Life.' E. G. King: 'Ps. cxxx.' L. W. Grensted: 'Immortality in the O.T.' T. F. Royds: 'Prayer and Spiritual Law.' J. E.

Symes: 'The Second Epistle of Peter. A Plea for Reconsideration.' G. Smith: 'The Value of Familiarity with the Ipsissima Verba of the Bible as a Method of Interpretation.' A. C. Bouquet: 'Why is the Book of Enoch so important?' A. Dakin: 'The Influence of the Bible on St. Francis of Assisi.' H. Johnson: (1) 'The Kingdom of God and the War'; (2) 'Royce *The Problem of Christianity*.'

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XIX. No. 1. January 1915. Chicago University Press). R. B. Perry: 'Religious Values.' J. M. P. Smith: 'Religion and War in Israel.' G. Cross: 'The Modern Trend in Soteriology.' C. W. Votaw: 'The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies.' W. C. A. Wallar: 'A Preacher's Interest in Nietzsche.' S. J. Case: 'The Religion of Lucretius.' J. A. Bewer: 'Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah*' (9 pp.) A. C. McGiffert: 'S. J. Case *The Evolution of Early Christianity*.' W. E. Clark: 'Franke *Dighanikaya*'; 'Hillebrandt *Lieder des Rigveda*.' C. H. Walker: 'D'Ales *L'Édit de Calliste*'; 'Dörfler *Die Anfänge der Heiligenverehrung*.' A. E. Harvey: 'Vedder *The Reformation in Germany*.' G. B. Smith: 'Ten Broeke *A Constructive Basis for Theology*'; 'Youtz *The Enlarging Conception of God*'; 'Streeter *Restatement and Reunion*'; 'Bacon *Christianity Old and New*.' 'Headlam *St. Paul and Christianity*.' E. J. G[oodspeed]: 'Stählin *Die christliche griechische Litteratur*' (340 pages. Saec. I-VI. good bibliographies). C. W. V[otaw]: 'Charles *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*'; 'Lester *The Historic Jesus*.' 'Schumacher *Christus in seiner Prae-existenz u. Kenose nach Phil. 2, 5-8*.'

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. XIII. No. 1. January 1915. Princeton University Press). F. W. Loetscher: 'Church History as a Science and as a Theological Discipline.' H. W. Rankin: 'C. W. Shields and the Unity of Science.' E. S. Buchanan: 'Sermo S. Augustini Episcopi de Dilectione Dei et Proximi.' (From a MS in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's Library.) G. Johnson: 'A. M. Adam *Plato, Moral and Political Ideals*.' J. D. Davis: 'Anstey *The Romance of Biblical Chronology*' (critical). J. O. Boyd: 'Cannon *The Song of Songs*.' G. Vos: 'Moffatt *The Theology of the Gospels*'; 'G. Faber *Buddhistische u. Neutestamentliche Erzählungen*.' B. B. Warfield: 'Doumergue *Calomnies Anti-Protestantes. I. Contre Calvin*.' W. H. Johnson: 'M. S. Fletcher *The Psychology of the N.T.*' C. W. Hodge: 'Youtz *The Enlarging Conception of God*.' W. B. Greene, jr.: 'Gardner *The Ethics of Jesus and Social Progress*.' C. McK. Cantrall: 'C. H. Dickinson *The Christian Reconstruction of Modern Life*' (critical).

The Harvard Theological Review (Vol. VIII. No. 1. Harvard University Press). J. L. Barton: 'The Modern Missionary.' J. P. Jones: 'The Protestant Missionary Propaganda in India.' H. N. Brown: 'Immortality.' A. Palmieri: 'The Russian Doukhobors and their Religious Teachings.' J. P. Peters: 'Excavations in Persia.' B. W. Bacon: 'After Six Days. A New Clue for Gospel Critics.' E. F. Scott: 'Nairne *The Epistle of Priesthood*.' A. T. Swing: 'Briggs *Theological Symbolics*'; 'Curtis *Creeds and Confessions of Faith*.' G. F. Moore: 'Soothill *The Three Religions of China*.' R. B. Perry: 'Le Roy *The New Philosophy of Bergson*'; 'Dodson *Bergson and the Modern Spirit*.' W. A. Brown: 'Selbie *Schleiermacher*.' C. F. Dole: 'Von Hügel *Eternal Life*' ('remarkable, most interesting, and very inspiring'). P. Smith: 'Vedder *The Reformation in Germany*' (very critical). H. B. Washburn: 'Tatham *The Puritans in Power*.' H. W. Foote: 'Brownlie *Hymns of the Early Church*' (critical).

The Review and Expositor (Vol. XII. No. 1. January 1915. London: 4 Southampton Row, W.C.) J. Clifford: 'The European War as a Conflict of Ideas.' E. Y. Mullins: 'Nietzsche and his Doctrine.' G. Luzzi: 'An Estimate of the Life and Work of Pius X.' E. B. Pollard: 'What shall we think of Creeds?' B. H. DeMent: 'Principles and

Methods of the Master Teacher.' G. B. Eager: 'The Anti-Alcohol Movement and the European War.' H. L. Winburn: 'The Apostolic Ideal of Christian Unity and Union.' B. F. Riley: 'Humanity and Materialism.' C. H. Nash: 'The Holy Spirit testifies with the Christian's Spirit that he is a Child of God.' C. S. Gardner: 'Hobson Work and Wealth'; 'Vedder The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy'; 'C. S. Horne The Romance of Preaching' (favourable). G. B. Eager: 'Bakie Lands and Peoples of the Bible' (favourable). W. O. Carver: 'G. T. Ladd What can I know?'; 'F. G. Peabody The Christian Life in the Modern World' (favourable). W. J. McGlothlin: 'Storr Development of English Theology, 1800-1860'; 'Gairdner Lollardy and the Reformation in England, IV.'

The Constructive Quarterly (Vol. II. No. 4. December 1914. Milford). Baron F. von Hügel: 'On the Specific Genius and Capacities of Christianity, Studied in Connection with the Works of Professor Ernst Troeltsch.' S. Mathews: 'Generic Christianity.' H. T. Obbink: 'Personal Faith.' F. Loofs: 'Solo Verbo. Lutheranism and Mysticism.' E. A. Pace: 'Philosophy and Belief.' D. M. Kay: 'The Value of the O.T. to the Church.' A. Deissmann: 'International and Interdenominational Research of the N.T.' Right Rev. W. A. Guerrey (Bishop of S. Carolina): 'Progress a Permanent Element in Religion.' E. T. Devine: 'Social Work in America.' H. Symonds: 'War and the Need of a Higher Nationalism.' E. Tavernier: 'Independent Teaching in France during the last Ten Years. French Clergy in the War.' Right Rev. W. Lawrence (Bishop of Massachusetts): 'Religious Liberty and Religious Education.' † Mgr. G. Bonomelli (Bishop of Cremona): 'Last Letter to the Editor.' Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter: 'John Tauler.'

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. V. No. 3. January 1915. Macmillan). C. Singer: 'Allegorical Representation of the Synagogue in a Twelfth Century Illuminated MS of Hildegard of Bingen' (In the Nassauische Landesbibliothek at Wiesbaden). Judge M. Sulzberger: 'The Ancient Hebrew Law of Homicide,' II. B. Halper: 'A Volume of the Book of Precepts by Hefes B. Yasiah.' (Arabic text. 97 pp.) J. Davidson: 'Some Remarks on the Poems ascribed to Joseph ben Abraham Hakohen.' J. H. Greenstone: 'Festschrift zu Israel Lewy's siebzigstem Geburtstag'; 'Judaica. Festschrift zu Hermann Cohens siebzigstem Geburtstag'; 'Studies of Jewish Literature . . . in Honour of Prof. Kaufmann Kohler . . . on . . . his Seventieth Birthday.'

The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 49-51. January-March 1915. Hodder and Stoughton). D. S. Margoliouth: 'Healing on the Sabbath Day.' J. Moffatt: 'Prophets and Kings.' Rendel Harris: 'Once More the Cretans.' W. E. Barnes: 'The Psalter as an Aid to Worship in the XXth Century.' W. A. Curtis: 'Christianity and the Life of Nations.' J. G. James: 'Was Jesus really tempted?' J. Baillie: 'Belief as an Element in Religion.' A. Souter: 'Further Interpretations of N.T. Passages,' II (St. Matt. v 27-28; St. Luke xii 38; xix 33, Acts xvi 19). February. W. E. Barnes: 'The Prophet of the God of Love. Hosea.' E. de Faye: 'Gnostic Sketches.' A. van Hoonacker: 'Connexion of Death with Sin according to Genesis ii, iii.' E. C. Selwyn: 'St. Luke and the Eclipse' (March. 'The Trial-Narratives based on the Oracles'). J. A. Hutton: '"Julian the Apostate."' A Parallel. W. Watson: 'The New Heaven and the New Earth.' A. Souter: 'Pelagius' Doctrine in Relation to his Early Life.' J. Moffatt: (1) 'Prof. Robertson's N.T. Grammar'; (2) 'The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament.' March. H. T. Andrews: 'The Reality of the Historical Jesus.' M. Jones: 'The Work of St. Luke. A Historical Apology for Pauline Preaching before the Roman Court: A Reply' (to Dr. Plooi). B. W. Bacon: 'Again the Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul.' L. E. Browne: 'The Journeys of St. Peter.' J. Moffatt: 'Literary Illustrations of Amos.'

The Expository Times (Vol. XXVI. Nos. 4-6. January-March 1915. T. and T. Clark). H. R. Mackintosh: 'The Name of Jesus' (sermon). Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The O. I. in the Roman Phrygia.' S. Daiches: 'Deut. xxxiii 2' (Feb. 'Amos iii 3-8'). J. Hastings: '*Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*'; '*Macgregor Christian Freedom*'; '*Maeterlinck The Unknown Guest* [E. I.]'; '*Moulton and Milligan Vocabulary of the N.T. illustrated from the Papyri*, I.' 'Oesterley *The Books of the Apocrypha*.' 'Wicks *The Doctrine of God*.' February. A. E. Garvie: 'In Praise of Faith. A Study of Hebrews xi 1, 6; xii 1, 2,' I (March. II). J. A. Selbie: 'The New Edition of Davidson's *Hebrew Grammar*.' J. Agar Beet: 'Another Solution of Rev. xx-xxii.' M. D. Gibson: 'Arabic Christian Literature,' III. R. Somervell: 'Is not Fighting incompatible with the Teaching of Jesus Christ?' A. Mingana: 'Lewesian and Curetonian Versions of the Gospels.' L. Konler: 'Boanerges.' P. J. MacLagan: 'Amos ix 13.' 'Hutchinson *Life of Lord Avebury*' (critical). 'Funk *Manual of Church History* [E. T.]'. 'D. Macmillan *Life of Robert Flint*.' 'Selbie *Life of A. M. Fairbairn*.' 'Treitschke, *his Life and Works* [E. T.]'. March. J. Rendel Harris: 'An Unnoticed Aramaism in St. Mark' (St. Mark iv 1). F. J. Rae: 'The Heart of Jesus—A Communion Meditation.' Ven. W. C. Allen (Archdeacon of Manchester): 'A Study in the Synoptic Problem' (The relation of St. Matt. xi 2-19 to St. Luke vii 18-35). J. Baikie: 'Koldewey *The Excavations at Babylon*.' B. Mathews: 'Where did Paul speak at Athens?' R. Somervell: 'Devendranath Tagore.' J. Hastings: 'Headlam *The Miracles of the N.T.*'; '*Science and Religion*'; 'A. Connell *The Endless Quest*.' 'Paton *John Brown Paton*' (laudatory). 'Gilliat-Smith *St. Clare of Assisi*.' 'Wickham *Words of Light and Life*.' 'Brisco *Economics of Efficiency*.' 'Carré *Paul's Doctrine of Redemption*.' 'Bowen *Safeguards for City Youth*.' 'Hogg and Vine *Thessalonians*.'

The English Church Review (Vol. VI. Nos. 61-3. January-March 1915. Longmans). H. S. Holland: 'The Resurrection.' F. M. Etherington: 'C. L. Marson' (Letters). R. W. Burnie: 'Invocation of Saints in Early Practice,' I (II. March). W. J. Sparrow Simpson: 'D'Hulst and Loisy.' J. Brett: 'The King of Saints (Studies of the Passion as an Inspiration to Heroic Virtues). III. Prudence and Justice' (Feb. IV. 'Fortitude and Temperance.' March V. 'Obedience'). 'Marson *God's Co-operative Society and Village Silhouettes*.' J. N. F[iggis]: 'Hodgson *A Study in Illumination*' (favourable). 'Hahn *Confirmation Preparation*.' February. R. A. Knox: 'Monasticism.' 'Medicus': 'Confession.' H. E. Tudor: 'Spiritual Vision,' I (II. March). W. J. Sparrow Simpson: 'Louis Veuillot.' T. J. Hardy: 'The Corruptible Body of Jones.' 'M. Jones *The N.T. in the XXth Century*.' 'Alington *A Schoolmaster's Apology*.' 'Simpson *The Sacrament of the Gospel*.' 'Carnegie *Democracy and Christian Doctrine*.' March. W. C. E. Newbolt: 'The Living Power of a Cathedral.' Dean of Lincoln and Dean of Bangor: 'Speeches in Convocation on the Welsh Church.' W. J. Sparrow Simpson: 'The Protestant Conception of the Church. X. Kaftan and Harnack.' 'Religion without Theology.' 'The Invisible Church.' 'N. S. Talbot *The Mind of the Disciples*.' '*The Practice of Christianity*.' 'Swete *Last Discourse and Prayer of our Lord*.' 'H. F. Hamilton *Discovery and Revelation*.' 'Vedder *The Reformation in Germany*.' 'Joynt *Liturgy and Life*' (critical). 'Ratton *The Apocalypse*.' 'Maynard Smith *Epistle of St. James*.'

The Churchman (Vol. XXIX. Nos. 109, 111. January, March 1915. R. Scott). E. A. Burroughs: 'The Christ of the Gospel: I. The Pre-existent Christ.' T. J. Puvertaft: 'Figgis *The Fellowship of the Mystery*.' Bishop of Edinburgh: 'The Hope of Progress and Purification.' G. E. Ford: 'Studies in Pauline Eschatology. I. St. Paul's Doctrine of Resurrection' (III. March. 'A Reply to Criticisms'). T. H. Bindley:

'Two Early Christian Hymns *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Te Deum*. A Critical Study of their Text and History.' H. F. Wilson: 'Sunday.' 'Temple Studies in the Spirit and Truth of Christianity.' 'Bishop of Sodor and Man *Missions, Parochial and General*.' 'Bishop of Zanzibar *The One Christ* (2nd edit.).' March. J. K. Mozley: 'The Christ of the Gospel. III. "Crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate."' R. B. Girdlestone: 'Notes in St. John's Gospel.' X.: 'Liberal Evangelicalism. What it is and what it stands for. I. "The Essence of Evangelicalism."' E. F. Emmet: 'Tithe and Tithe Rent-Charge.' M. A. Cooke: 'English History as evidenced in Tewkesbury Abbey.' B. Herklots: '"The Old Sermon."' 'Bishop of Stepney *In the Day of Battle*' ('uplifting'). 'E. Stock *Plain Talks on the Pastoral Epistles*.' 'Bishop of Ballarat *Australian Sermons*.' 'Chadwick *The Church, the State, and the Poor*.'

The Catholic World (Vol. C. Nos. 598-600. January-March 1915. New York: 120-122 West 60th Street). J. A. Ryan: 'Minimum Wage Laws to Date.' E. U. O'Hara: 'Wage Legislation for Women.' T. Walsh: 'Salamanca To-day and Yesterday.' J. J. Walsh: 'American Philosophy of History Fifty Years Ago.' H. Haines: 'Catholic Womanhood and the Socialistic States' I (II. Feb.) A. J. Shipman: 'The Aim of Germany in the War' (in favour of Germany). 'Münsterberg *The War and America*.' 'R. G. Usher *Pan-Germanism*.' 'Cramb *Germany and England*.' 'Coffey *Ontology*.' 'Dimnet *France Herself Again*' (favourable). 'Plater *The Priest and Social Action*.' February. D. A. Lord: 'Martyrs according to Bernard Shaw.' J. Kilmer: 'The Catholic Poets of Belgium.' J. J. Walsh: 'Some Changes in Religious Feelings in two Generations.' J. D. McCarthy: 'Jean Henri Fabre, a Great Catholic Scientist.' 'V. Lee *The Beautiful*.' 'Spurgeon *Mysticism in English Literature*.' March. E. T. Shanahan: 'A Returning Caveman.' W. P. H. Kitchin: 'Cardinal Mercier, Primate of Belgium.' V. McNabb: 'Is Hamlet Autobiography?' C. Baussan: 'Paris and the War.' D. G. Wooten: '"Mexico for the Mexicans."' J. R. Arbocz: 'The Magyars and the European War.' 'Sir G. O. Trevelyan *George III and Charles Fox*.'

The Quarterly Review (No. 442. Parts I-II. December 1914, January 1915. John Murray). P. F. Martin: 'Administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.' Sir A. Geikie: 'Catullus at Home.' 'The German Spirit.' G. F. Abbot: 'A Revolt of Islam?' 'The Attitude of Italy.' 'The War in October and November. I. By Land (by Col. W. P. Blood); II. At Sea (by A. Hurd); III. In Serbia (by R. W. Seton-Watson)' (With Maps). 'Recruiting, and the Censorship.' Part II. F. L. Paxson: 'The New American History.' P. Lubbock: 'The Novels of Edith Wharton.' T. Baty: 'The Neutrality of Belgium.' Sir V. Chirol: 'Turkey in the Grip of Germany.' C. Maughan: 'British Oversea Commerce in Time of War.' W. T. Layton: 'The Effect of War on British Industry.' 'Progress of the War. I. On Land (by Col. W. P. Blood); II. At Sea (by A. Hurd)' (With Maps).

The English Historical Review (Vol. XXX. No. 117. January 1915. Longmans). F. Haverfield: 'Old Sarum and Sorbiodunum.' G. Lapsley: 'Archbishop Stratford and the Parliamentary Crisis of 1341.' C. A. J. Skeel: 'The Council of the Marches in the Seventeenth Century.' M. E. M. Jones: 'Free and Open Trade in Bengal.' E. W. Brooks: 'The Brothers of the Emperor Constantine IV.' R. L. Poole: 'Burgundian Notes. IV. The Supposed Origin of Burgundia Minor.' C. H. Haskins: 'The Reception of Arabic Science in England.' J. F. Willard: 'The Taxes upon Movables of the Reign of Edward III.' C. W. P. Orton: 'The Earlier Career of Titus Livius de Frulovisiis.' C. Burrage: 'The Antecedents of Quakerism.' C. H. Firth: 'The Memoirs of the first Lord Lonsdale.' J. Tait: 'Seeböhm *Customary Acres*'; 'Vinogradoff

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